

# The Social Studies

*Continuing*

## THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

VOLUME XXXVI  
JANUARY—DECEMBER, 1945

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# The Social Studies

Volume XXXVI, Number 1

Continuing The Historical Outlook

January, 1945

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*State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lincoln, Neb.*

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# The Social Studies

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JANUARY, 1945

## War Is What Men Make It

ALLAN M. PITKANEN

*Compton, California*

War, the most violent relation existing between groups of people, is also by far man's most diverting ebullition. Throughout the ages its bloody, corpse-strewn devastation has been variously described. Sherman's "War is hell" can be matched by Othello's "The pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war!" "Cry Havoc!" by "Let loose the dogs of war"; "Organized murder" by "Crusade." Whatever emotional reaction the world's individuals have to it, war is just one of the ways of settling disputes between two contending parties.

The causes of these differences that lead to the use of physical force are many. Economic, political, racial and religious factors, complicated by psychological factors less easily analyzed, make full understanding of these causes difficult indeed. Various organized desires of a state or groups of people demand a state of war. Certain impelling desires—for independence, for complete nationality, for colonies, for securing reparations, stamping out rebellion, protecting weaker peoples, and maintaining the prestige and independence of a sovereign state—keep the chariots of Mars rolling. In older times racial and religious animosities or the ambitions of autocratic dynasties largely brought on physical clashes between men—but even these had economic interests behind them. The intense search for trade privileges and opportunities greatly induce modern conflict. Intensified nationalism and the realization of the ease with

which a blind patriotism may be aroused in the Common Man have also helped make the twentieth century a war epoch in world history.

Study of primitive societies, however, brings forth the realization that there have been various other ways of settling differences in other times and places. Let us see how intelligently certain primitives faced the dilemma of impending warfare and the various motivations that led them to kill each other. Perhaps a review of past actions, even of the primitive mind, may give us clues for finding a way to a lasting peace.

In ancient times fate or the decree of the gods decided the outcome of primitive difficulties. Nothing could be done about fate, but gods might be influenced. Perhaps the first employment of priests was the offering of prayers to the gods, tempting them by the exhibition of property to be sacrificed for their favor. When an unfavorable verdict became certain, the losers fatalistically concluded that the gods had succumbed to the better offer of the conquerors and wailed in their bitter misery that the gods had forsaken them.

Various Western American Indians (Chinook, Mohave, Yuma) settled their differences by means of collective duels. Those who died in the melee were acclaimed cowards; if they had done their best they would not have been killed, was the stock alibi.

Other Indians, the Creeks, Choctaws, chose cham-

pions to hash out the group differences. Often representative groups of the best athletes settled disputes regarding certain hunting territories by ball games, thinking that an individual or a handful of them would be as much under the influence of the gods as a whole tribe. Any gambling game or even the mere drawing of lots was not enough to settle antagonisms. The Ona tribe in Tierra del Fuego had three choices in settling a grievance: by war, by a wrestling bout, or by a duel to the death by representative champions.

A most intelligent procedure, and most peculiar from our "civilized" viewpoint, was followed by the Eskimo. Singing contests have been considered by them as good substitutes for "organized murder." Often the superiority of one tribe was established by a property contest; the one giving away or destroying the greater amount of *his* own goods was the winner! Whenever an Eskimo "grand-duke" was assassinated, war could be forestalled by the payment of certain amounts of the murderer's property, according to the social importance of the deceased.

This particular incident definitely indicates a most logical and civilized "savage" viewpoint: A chief of an Eskimo tribe in disgrace because of a murder one of their kinsmen had committed met the chief of the tribe to whom the victim belonged. In the great assemblage resulting from the meeting of the chiefs, the disgraced leader started a brilliant oration extolling the victim's chief and tribe while feelingly deploring his own and his people's inferiority. Before the speech ended, the other chief interrupted with a speech equally warm, refuted the compliments so freely offered and returned them all with interest. This give-and-take lasted about two hours when the chief of the killer's tribe, by a skillful tactic, confessed himself so thoroughly beaten in the oratory contest that never again would he open his mouth in the presence of his most generous conqueror, and warfare was averted.

People in all ages have differed much in their attitude toward war; some of them have been distinctly unwarlike and some markedly aggressive, though the respective traits have not always remained static throughout the lives of the several tribes and nations. Eskimo wars have been largely caused by tribal or family feuds in retaliation for murder. In the plateaus of Northwest America wars were rare until the introduction of horses. The warlike Iroquois were really leagued together to maintain peace, not war. The American prairie Indians were warlike only because they wanted to protect their property, especially from the white man.

Revenge for real or imagined injuries, a feud type, is a chief cause of primitive war. This hereditary quarreling is deep-seated and a continuation of

it as a principle of personal action is considered as established good conduct and part of the filial faith of certain groups. The first opposition to this revenge motive can be seen in the Old Testament as interfering with a divine prerogative; the Sermon on the Mount also strongly condemned it. The solution was found in part through the action of individuals strong-minded enough to refuse resort to it, thereby breaking the chain of reprisal or counter-reprisal, and in part by the constitution of impartial bodies provided with powers of enforcement to adjudicate such cases.

Cannibalism was sometimes associated with revenge. New Zealanders ate the flesh of slain enemies, not because of hatred and revenge, but to disparage the reputation of the person eaten; to frighten opposition, not to acquire the powers of the deceased. The Fijis considered the eating of a man the highest revenge possible.

The pursuit of honor and social advancement as a war motive is also strong. Certain South American Indians fight to obtain trophy heads and relics or to gain warlike renown. They are not concerned about conquering or loading themselves with enemy spoil, but fight only for the glory of subduing their foe, receiving pleasure of revenge satiation for imagined or past injuries.

A victorious leader automatically becomes chieftain in Polynesia. A Nigerian's reputation as a man depends on the number of heads he has cut off. Throughout the East Indies, the taking of heads and social advancement went hand in hand. In East Africa possession of cattle determined status and social ambition lay behind the chronic cattle-lifting raids.

A craving for excitement, viewing war as sport, has always been a strong motive among young men, and especially so among Indians.

War has often had a profound religious sanction. The Murngin of Australia punished sacrilege by it. Expeditions were widely undertaken to revenge the death of someone alleged to have been destroyed by witchcraft and in response to dreams. Peoples in widely separated regions held that the dead would obsess and torment the living until quieted by the destruction of their enemies. Philippine tribes went to war to obtain human beings whom they might offer up in sacrifice. The Naga of Assam had the custom of "cutting off the heads, hands and feet of anyone they met with, without any provocation or preexisting enmity, merely to stick them up in their fields, and so ensure a good crop of grain." The Aztecs sacrificed captives taken in war by the thousands.

The Wa tribe in Indo-China hunted for human heads as a protection against evil spirits. Without a human skull on display their crops would fail, their

cattle might die, the father and mother spirits would be shamed and enraged. If there were no protecting skull in the village the other spirits who were all malignant might gain entrance and kill the inhabitants, or drink all the liquor! It was considered that the ghost of the dead man hung about his skull and resented the approach of other spirits, not from any goodwill for the villager, for all spirits attaining spirithood became mischievous and truculent, but because he resented any trespassing on his cov-ers. Thus, the wild Wa, possessing any skull, had a spirit protecting him.

The institution of head-hunting is bound up with the entire economic, social, and religious life of an Indonesian tribe because a good head-hunter assures his tribe of a year of abundance by bringing home a foreign skull, gives himself adult-standing, gains the favors of the unmarried females, gives himself freedom from pestilence, and obtains by the possession of more heads greater rank and glory. An incredible blood-spilling has long been considered the best means of deprecating the wrath of malignant deities whom the primitive worship.

Women have been fought for in more ways than the romantic since time immemorial. The capture of women constituted the principle motives for making war between the Eskimo and the interior Indians of Alaska.

Slavery—the use of women and boy-slaves—generally came about as a by-product of war. It was developed little in the hunting, food-gathering, and the lower horticultural economies, in which captives were generally dispatched or adopted. Adoption was widely employed in eastern North America, and it is surprising to find how many captives accommodated themselves to changed conditions so completely that they took part in war expeditions against their former friends and carried off scalps from their blood kin without the slightest compunction.

Slavery in the Oriental and Mediterranean worlds was so deeply rooted in the economic fabric that Plato was unable to think of an ideal state functioning without it.

With the growth of our modern civilization the property motive has gained importance in causing war. But then, this motive has been with us a long time. Even though wars between the monarchies of western Asia, noticeably those participated in by Babylonia and Assyria, were undertaken to redress assumed injuries or under a religious sanction, they resolved themselves largely into plundering expeditions, as did the conquests of Alexander and the wars of Rome. Even when plunder was not the primary purpose of armed expeditions, the fact that mercenaries became such integral parts of armies insured the presence of that motive in an ever in-

creasing degree, first under the Romans, and later in the Middle Ages.

Appropriation of territory did not become important as a cause of war until after intensive agriculture came into existence. Conquering peoples generally preferred to allow those engaged in back-breaking toil upon the land to continue while they extorted their own living from them.

Local struggles involving the control of hunting or fishing positions, however, took place in very primitive societies. Indians were so extremely jealous of English traders bound for territories beyond their domains that they put every obstacle in their way. Caravans in Africa were continually being attacked by natives who resented the intruders' access to trade outside of their realms.

Defense, the desire to remain at peace, to merely preserve the status quo, of course, causes conflict with the disturber. Fear of the real or imagined aggressiveness of a neighbor induces a nation to increase its armaments progressively. At times two nations equally desirous of peace will frighten each other into such increases until some incident precipitates them into actual warfare. It is a curious quirk of the human mind that its fears sometimes produce exactly what it fears.

Certain states have suffered war complexes to the degree that civil authorities were expected to have military talent to keep their positions. The great military states of central Asia and East Africa were built up by militaristic-minded individuals—Genghis Khan, Attila, Tamerlane, Sebitune, Chaka, Mosilikatsi—and died with them! Other states passed on their war complexes from generation to generation until the empires to which they gave rise collapsed from internal weaknesses or through contact with a still more powerful state or confederation of states.

In fact, great areas of the earth's surface from ages past have been in a state of chronic warfare, from petty raids to holocausts of terror and bloodshed, for all the trivial and selfish reasons mentioned. Revenge, a primary motive in wars among primitive people, is less important nowadays, but it is still represented in the form of national or racial antipathy. In the modern economic wars, which are in reality large-scale plundering expeditions, little natural antagonism between individuals of the warring nations is apparent, but the evil deeds of the enemy, real or supposed, are dramatized and re-dramatized until each regards the other as wholly evil. A moral issue is then believed to exist in which one's own nation stands for virtue and the opposing one for wickedness. There may, of course, be a genuine moral issue, but its existence must be established on grounds other than inherited prejudice.

The control of trade routes and securing trade



privileges, or ousting successful or dangerous rivals from the enjoyment or possible enjoyment of such privileges, not just plain plunder, largely motivates modern wars. While these motives may seem further removed from dealings between individuals we have to be reminded that the history of business is full of instances of economic wars between individuals and corporations in which control of materials or trade outlets, price cutting, manipulation of legal machinery, and protracted litigation, have been employed. If such practices are less evident today between individuals it is merely because business has been absorbed to a greater extent by corporations and trusts, and laws have become more stringent.

The motives behind all wars are identical in kind with those contests, exhibited or latent, between man and man in any nation. The one point of difference is that ordinarily individuals operate within an area of established law which, although subject to corruption and perversion, serves to settle the great majority of differences without resort to violence. When violence is employed it appears as a violation of law and is called a crime, exposing the offender to punishment. Between independent nations no law exists as yet which is recognized as binding upon both parties to a dispute. A body of precedent—international law—has yet to be administered under universally recognized international courts and enforced by an international police. Nations may agree to settle their differences in accordance with it or by some form of arbitration or compromise, or not at all. The only difference in relations between individuals and groups of individuals within a nation and the relations between nations is that the area of law with its accompaniment of courts and police has not yet been extended to the latter.

Reviewing the history of areas of law established by conquest, we find that they do not last. Populations under the sway of a militaristic, dictator-type régime, do not become imbued with an earnest desire to defend it when the crisis in its history arrives. The great Empire of Alexander the Great fell with him; the Islamic Arabic Empire collapsed before a more virile Mongul race; few gave help when destruction threatened the tyrannical Aztec régime; the 400 Spaniards conquered the imperialistic Incaic state; Spain rose and fell over its conquests; Roman conquests over 2,200 years came to nothing when its people cared little for Roman principles of government.

Those areas of law established by the consent of the governed appear logically best. One of the very best of these federations of consent is the Swiss Confederation. Here we see twenty-two small states, differing religiously, politically, socially, industrially, physically, linguistically, yet forming a nation of pa-

triotis that is world known; and this federation of consent grew from a close alliance formed in 1291! The United States is the youngest and most powerful example of how well a conglomeration of peoples can be united by consent. The present war proves that the British Empire does not have to be compelled to loyalty. War has played its part in forming both these types of areas of law, but those built solely by conquest do not last.

Peculiarly, however, trade does not have to be a cause for war because war is a deadly enemy of trade. Trade brings prosperity and progress to all nations; war, destruction and depression. If the element of greed could be taken out of world trade, wars motivated by economic need would be outmoded.

Even military forces could be thought of as being strictly unmilitary, as having a constructive function, rather than a destructive one. A world police force, maintaining areas of peace and defense against threatening dangers without or within, is the true purpose of might. However, as long as armies and navies are used for aggressive ends, even the most peacefully inclined states must have them to preserve their integrity. Failure to do so is false reasoning, unless people throughout the world learn the foolishness of their fears and sense the need and benefit of a peaceful world state.

A world unity through a conquest-empire is the dream of only unscrupulous leaders. Gaining world unity that way is a wrong procedure for this reason: that it would be impossible to insure continuance in power of men of the talent and intentions of the original conqueror, and to get the masses of the conquering nation to dedicate themselves indefinitely to keeping the rest of the world in subjection. It is all too possible for the conquered to conquer the conquerors, witness the Greek influence on Roman civilization. Only unions between states having behind them the sentiments of the populations composing them may be counted upon to have any lasting quality.

Whatever skeptics, and even wise men, may say, warfare is not our inevitable bloody burden, forever and ever. "There is nothing good or bad, but thinking makes it so," can be applied to the fatalistic acceptance of war between civilized men. It is true that the extinction of envy, hatred, combativeness, acquisitiveness, and various vicious emotional disturbances of human nature appears hopeless. But war has not always existed and has not developed equally in all parts of the world. It is variously motivated and is only one manifestation of the human tendencies mentioned. Other manifestations are riots, duels, street brawls, murder, and theft—and these have been controlled by law.

War is an expression of man's antisocial tendencies.

Just as individual and collective crimes have to be controlled within the state by men—the police, trained and equipped to meet them—so the destructive threat represented by foreign armed forces when used for aggression must be countered by armed forces prepared to meet them. An army is no more desirable than a police force or fire department, but just as necessary. Crimes, fires are undesirable, but they must be guarded against, and so under present conditions must attacks of aggressor nations.

There is a growing tendency among all peoples to settle peacefully the differences between nations. War has proved too awful, too foolish. There is a growing area of law and good feeling. It is evident if these areas of law continue to spread that the preservation of order will pass over, more and more, to the police, or to armed forces acting in that

capacity; and when that tendency has worked through to its natural consummation, the reign of law will be complete; armies and navies will then assume more sensible functions.

Collective pugnacity is an acquired trait. Masses of mankind are forced to fight from a feeling of insecurity. Fear, not hatred, is the chief motive and, if this fear can be allayed, the so-called "belligerency" of man will disappear with it.

If, without any further world organization, the nations of the earth could agree to settle their differences in peaceful ways and cooperate to enforce such settlements on all nations which persist in resorting to violence, much would be achieved. If nations gave sufficient evidence of their genuine determination to do so, the master nerve of war would be severed!

## A Qualitative Appraisal of American History Teaching

RALPH B. GUINNESS

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The current criticism and furore over the teaching of American history in our schools and colleges is sadly lacking in a realistic appraisal of the defects in the study and teaching of history. The *New York Times* and the National Association of Manufacturers complain that not enough history is taught. The *Wesley Report* engages in debate on this level and endeavors to show that sufficient history is taught but that some improvement should be made in teaching.<sup>1</sup> Professor Volwiler in his comment on this controversy does not allude to the need for a more comprehensive approach than the mere quantitative one that has been given emphasis by both sides in this controversy.<sup>2</sup> He does introduce a new point by calling attention to a well-known psychological and pedagogical fact that students soon forget the details of information or facts in any subject. He fails, however, to stress the point that there are definite residues of education, namely the retention of understandings and attitudes.

In appraising the results of American history teaching and study at least these three questions should be asked: (1) What are the qualitative results? (2) How accurate and scholarly is the content

of the history textbook in any level of education? (3) What attitudes are acquired by students? Are these desirable attitudes? Desirable for whom and for what purposes?

A qualitative appraisal should determine to what extent certain accepted objectives of history study have been realized. As a result of history study are the students and graduates of our high schools and colleges well versed in an understanding of the nature of present day government, and economic and social institutions? Are they more logical in their thinking? Has history study made them more psychologically adjusted and integrated on high wholesome levels? Or are they egocentric, chauvinistic, provincial and uncultured? Are our students and graduates more objective and historically-minded in their thinking? Are they critically literate? These matters are given no attention by the *New York Times* or by the *Wesley Report*. On the other hand, the American people seem to have learned from a study of their history the same things that the people of other countries have learned, namely, that nationalism, capitalism, imperialism and war are normal and good institutions.

If they are, then our content and methods of history study and teaching are efficient. Details may have been forgotten and other details may be wrongly remembered, but certain functional nationalist status

<sup>1</sup> E. B. Wesley (Ed.), *American History in Schools and Colleges* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944).

<sup>2</sup> A. T. Volwiler, "American History in Schools and Colleges," *THE SOCIAL STUDIES*, XXXV (November 1944), 293-297.

quo objectives seem to have been admirably achieved. Students in large numbers may have forgotten that Lincoln was President during the Civil War, but they have learned that he was champion of democracy and worthy of a stereotyped functional worship. Others may incorrectly believe, as did many persons listed in *Who's Who in America*, that Jefferson was present at the Constitutional Convention. It is more important for them to know that Jefferson and his father, like so many other patriotic leaders, were land speculators who obtained free land grants from the Virginian government. Facts in themselves are not so important as the attitudes built upon them and the political philosophies based on them.

None of the criticisms of history study and teaching have raised the question of the scholarship of the texts used in the elementary, high school and college classes. None raise the question of the truth and accuracy of minor facts and topics, or of important basic controversial topics such as the causes of our wars, or of the purposes of the Revolution and the Constitution, or of the nature of our government today. In the past fifty years the scholars have made revisions of facts and viewpoints but little of their findings has been incorporated in the texts. There has been a lag in the introduction into the texts of newly discovered facts, or even of facts discovered fifty or more years ago.<sup>3</sup>

Pedagogical studies have revealed that the details of any subject are soon forgotten and are only well known or long-remembered if there is frequent drill and review. Thus criticisms of lack of knowledge of history may be discounted. The question then remains as to the kinds of attitudes about history, government, the economic system and cultural opinions about people which have been inculcated by the content and the methods of teaching it.

Some twenty years of experience in teaching history have revealed the following basic attitudes in my high school students and in the educated and non-educated persons of my acquaintance.<sup>4</sup> In general, I have found them naïve, gullible and uncritical. They believe that we have a democracy without much understanding of the principles in which they profess belief. They believe that our nationalism is impeccable and infallible; that many minor injustices and inefficiencies exist in government, business and social relations. But people believe that these imperfections are due to dishonest and inefficient administration, and to the "natural" innate badness of human nature which to them is unchangeable.

<sup>3</sup>I. T. Blythe, "The Textbooks and the New Discoveries, Emphases and Viewpoints in American History," *Historical Outlook*, XXIII (December 1932), 395-402.

<sup>4</sup>R. B. Guinness, "Education for Democracy," *THE SOCIAL STUDIES*, XXVIII (April 1937), 149-158.

Many believe in peace and democracy, some even to the extent that we should have social ownership. But many declare these are unattainable and impracticable "ideals" owing to the moral and intellectual limitations imposed by "human nature." The American people accept national capitalist imperialism with its unemployment, depressions and wars as natural as earthquakes, hurricanes and other phenomena of physical nature. Since this is the case, why do the *New York Times* and the National Association of Manufacturers doubt the efficacy of history study and teaching?

Experience has shown that our students have learned much incorrect history and consequently have acquired conventional nationalist attitudes. They believe Columbus made his voyage of discovery for the purpose of reaching India; that his expenses were paid by the sale of Isabella's jewels; that necessarily new routes had to be found to reach India because the Turks had blocked the old routes. On the other hand they know nothing of the discoveries through research of Navarette, Thatcher, Lybyer and Lane. While recent texts have dropped the allusions to the naughty Turks, none give a straightforward account based upon the researches of these scholars.

Students believe that Negroes were brought here in 1619 to work on cotton plantations because they "could stand the heat better than the whites." Thus they have no realistic conception of the system of utilizing a labor reserve; nor do they understand that cotton was not grown here commercially until after 1785. Recently much more attention has been given to the part played by white indentured servants in the formation of the labor classes in this country. No text reveals adequately their whole story as revealed by O'Neal in his *Workers in American History* based upon the researches of our respected scholars: Wilson, McMaster, McCormac, Channing, and others.

The schools teach that democracy began in Virginia in 1619 with the creation of the House of Burgesses and, naïvely in the same breath without any sense of contradiction, teach that Negro slaves were introduced in the same year. Democracy, of course, was not introduced politically, since the early colonial legislatures were but representative of the property-owning class and office-holding was restricted to it.

With regard to the beginnings of English colonization some people believe that there were early experiments at communism, although Brown and Channing, drawing their conclusions from the charters and business records of the colonizing companies, show them to be modern stock-corporations seeking profits. It is widely believed that the Puritans and Pilgrims came here for religious freedom while a



host of scholars have shown they came here for religious freedom for *themselves*. The fact that even elementary school texts allude to the persecution of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson does not disabuse the American people of their romantic concepts of such colonization and religious illiberalism.

Few students of American history have any conception of the undemocratic and monopolistic land system which has prevailed since 1607. Few know anything of the favoritism of kings and colonial governors in the granting freely to favorites and the rich the land of this country. Few know anything about the part played by land speculation in building up a capitalist class, in causing the American Revolution and in creating a dependent "free" labor class. On this point people should have learned that Jefferson while talking about a nation of small independent land-holders and farmers did little to create one. As chairman of a land committee of the Articles of Confederation in 1784 he proposed that the Ohio land should be sold in tracts of 640 acres at \$1.25 an acre. Would the *New York Times* want this fact taught and understood?

Our schools at all levels teach that the American Revolution was an uprising for political liberty and justice upon the part of the American people. None teach that it was a rebellion of the American capitalist class against British capitalist imperialism. Mention is made of the latter in such a desultory way as not to disillusion people. The researches of Schlesinger, Alvord, Volwiler, Harrell, and Abernethy upon the economic class nature of the Revolution for the political power and economic benefit of the merchants, planters, land-speculators, shippers and small manufacturers and money-lenders is not known. It is true that a few recent texts introduce brief references or hints as to such thesis, but any such inclusions are lost in a long conventional chapter on a revolt against tyrannical king and Parliament. None indicate that the Revolution was a double one of a revolt of the American people against the unjust class rule of the rich by unfair means of legislative representation. Ambler, Bassett, C. H. Lincoln, and others have shown that at the time of the Revolution the rich American business class, although a minority, had the majority of representation in the colonial legislatures by which they taxed the American people without representation and secured vast tracts of land free or at low cost.

Most Americans believe that our Constitution was formed to protect and extend democracy. Few are informed on the thesis of Libby and Beard based upon the words and records of the Founding Fathers that the Constitution was made to prevent democracy. Beard's findings are misunderstood and misinterpreted because little is known about the un-

democratic class nature of colonial governments and the purposes of the Revolution. Thus it is not understood that the Constitution was but the logical culmination of an undemocratic America and its extension and centralization on a national scale.

The American people have been taught that all our wars, including the present ones, were righteous measures of self-defense against unprovoked attacks by "aggressor" nations. A host of historians have shown that many of our wars were ones of conquest for political power and economic benefits for the rich ruling class in the interest of continental and overseas imperialism.

School textbooks do include much material upon the dubious ethical practices of corporations in developing the country, especially since the Civil War. But the average person merely learns that there was much individual bad behavior due to bad human nature. He obtains no concept of the class and plutocratic nature of government. Similarly, labor unions are considered a necessary evil. It is believed that they have practiced much violence, since the books do not reveal that business men often destroyed their own property as in 1877 and 1894 to alienate public opinion against the workers and permit the breaking of strikes by troops.

In general, the American people think we are a democracy since we have universal suffrage. They understand little about the lack of substance in our political forms on account of boss control of nominations, gerrymandering, unfair legislative representation, and other political devices. They know nothing of the class nature of government. Few know that the urban population, although a majority in twenty-two of our states, have only a minority representation in State legislatures. Few can comprehend what this means in terms of plutocratic class rule. Few know of the "rotten boroughs" existing, too, in Congressional representation where city people are assigned to districts of 400,000 people and over with but one Congressman, while rural districts have less than 200,000 in a district for one Congressman.

American history teaching has created little belief or faith in social democracy as widespread prejudice and discrimination against foreigners, Negroes, and Orientals indicate. We do not believe in considering or treating these of our fellow Americans as equals, as discriminations against residence, employment and social intercourse are proof. We all talk of keeping our inferiors in their place and of preventing the neighborhood from running down. Obviously history teaching has not provided a better objective basis for social opinion, and obviously it does not bear alone the responsibility for such undemocratic opinions. These have been fostered at home and elsewhere by a peculiar biological-intellectual rationalization about

the innate superiority of a few by "blood," heredity or superior cortical capacity.

In short, we lack democratic institutions in this country largely because the type of history teaching the *New York Times* deplores has failed to give our people an objective knowledge of history. Then, too, such institutions are lacking because we, like people everywhere, are lacking in psychological and personal democracy. We all resort to a competitive independent mode of integration based on wrong psychological interpretations of life, on fears of insecurity, on non-objective knowledge, and on illogical thinking.<sup>5</sup>

Most certainly American history teaching is to be

condemned and changed, but not for reasons advanced by the *New York Times* and others. It is high time that there was a qualitative appraisal of our history teaching and the social scene as a whole. Such an attempt should be conducted without moral indignation, but on the level of moral enthusiasm for the peaceful democratization of man and his institutions everywhere, to the end that wars, national civil injustice and disturbances, and dictatorship of Fascist or Communist nature might be avoided and liquidated.

<sup>5</sup>R. B. Guinness, "The Wholesome Personality and Democracy," *THE SOCIAL STUDIES*, XXXI (February 1940), 56-58.

## Life in Papal Rome in the Late Eighteenth Century

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In the eighteenth century the Papal States stretched across Central Italy from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatic, with an area of some 16,000 square miles and a population of about 2,000,000 people. According to all accounts life in Rome, the Papal capital, represented a rather gentle state of perpetual anarchy, without the extravagances of wealth and poverty which were viewed with complacency by the Bourbon rulers of France and Spain. The climate was pleasant many months of the year, the government of the Popes mild, smuggling and banditry profitable. The Romans lived as they had for hundreds of years—largely without working. Papal and princely charities supported many, others preyed on pilgrims to the holy places or resorted to crime for a livelihood. Laws traditionally were disobeyed with impunity. Economically, since the country was without appreciable agriculture, trade and industry, it was one of the most miserable regions of Europe and one of the most difficult to improve. Even today only Calabria and Basilicata in Southern Italy are less fertile and less productive than some of the land in the former States of the Church.

There was no urgent demand for amelioration of conditions. For generations the Pontiffs had lived at peace with their neighbors. During the 1700's they reigned on an average of twelve years each. At the time of their elections they were all old men without the energy or inclination for reforms. This together with the malarial climate induced a somnolence from which the Romans were just beginning to awaken at

the end of the century. Until modern public health measures remedied the evil, the Roman campagna existed as the only desert which could be found anywhere in Europe around a great metropolis. Within thirty or forty miles of the city walls there were no peasants living on the land. The pestilential air and bad water kept them away. Harvests were gathered at great expense by workers imported for a few weeks from Tuscany or the Abruzzi. Inasmuch as little fishing was done off of the Papal coasts, heavy tribute had to be paid to English and Neapolitan sailors who brought in herring, cod, sardines and tuna fish.

No native soldiers were mobilized for defense, no labor was furnished to build fortifications, no taxes were collected to equip armies. From a military viewpoint the Papacy was completely at the mercy of greater nations nearby. The Pope had a minister of war called the *commissary of arms*. This prelate, for laymen were almost entirely excluded from participation in the government, was in charge of the armed forces. From 1,500 to 1,800 cavalry and infantry were stationed at Rome with a few small garrisons in the provincial cities. The Papal soldiers were officered by a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major and some captains. Their weakness in numbers was not made up by professional skill. The infantry was said to include deserters from the armies of every nation. The cavalymen were recruited from among the servants of cardinals and princes. These men did not live in barracks; instead they stayed at home with

their wives and families, conducted businesses of their own or worked for others. Often they hired substitutes with part of their pay to attend drill. Each ward of Rome had its local militia, but such volunteers were of small account. The person of the Holy Father was protected by two bodyguards in constant attendance. Both were armed with sword and pistol. On duty at the Quirinal palace, the residence of the Popes, were the picturesquely uniformed mercenary Swiss Guards. They were soldiers from the Catholic Forest Cantons of Switzerland.

The ministry of marine was the *commissary for sea*. Though the Papal government had the two good ports of Civitavecchia and Ancona, it had only five galleys, two of which were unseaworthy. There were about ten small craft for port service and to maintain surveillance over the ships putting in from the Levant. These vessels had to remain in port under quarantine for forty days after arrival before the personnel and cargo could go ashore. This was to avoid the spread of bubonic plague. For commerce, some ten feluccas and tartans were available to fly the Papal banner of white and gold.

A traveler entering the erstwhile *caput mundi*

from the north might well have been dismayed by the dour appearance of the Piazza del Popolo. Grass grew among the badly laid cobblestones of the square; dingy and dilapidated houses and granaries stood nearby. Several stone troughs provided a place for young women to wash dirty clothes and gossip. Goats and donkeys wandered about freely, and where later the French were to construct the beautiful terraces of the Pincio, there was only an unkept vineyard belonging to the monks of Santa Maria del Popolo.

Strangers arriving at Rome usually directed their steps to the Piazza di Spagno. There were located the two best inns of the capital, the *Scalinata* at the base of the stairs leading to the church of the Trinità de' Monti, and the *Monte d'Oro*, closer to the slopes of the Pincio, and usually host to Frenchmen. At this latter hostelry the famous charlatan Count Cagliostro once had his lodgings.

The palaces of the Propaganda of the Faith and of the Spanish ambassador were the other edifices of importance on the Piazza di Spagno. The privileges of extraterritoriality which the embassy enjoyed made the Piazza the safest spot in Rome. To enforce the



THE PIAZZA DEL POPOLO. THE AVENUE BETWEEN THE TWIN CHURCHES OF SANTA MARIA IN MONTE SANTO AND SANTA MARIA DE' MIRACOLI IS THE CORSO



dignity of her envoy, Spain maintained a special embassy guard. Except for the Via Condotti, most of the streets which connected the Piazza di Spagno with the Corso were inhabited by poor people, models and women of low repute. The Corso was one of the main streets of the city, leading from the Porta del Popolo, the main gate of Rome to the north, to the Capitoline Hill in the center of the metropolis.

The best districts were between the Corso and the Tiber River, most of the great palaces and public buildings being found in this area. Shops were not so numerous as in later years. Those which did exist did not announce their trades with large signs or glass window fronts. Instead a heraldic device would indicate the nature of the business carried on. A red hat, a wooden hand, or a serpent entwined around a caduceus would inform the curious that it was a hatter's, a glover's or apothecary's shop. The inns used similar emblems, roosters, eagles, falcons and bears being common. As in present day Italy, stuffed birds were sometimes nailed up over the doors with their wings outstretched.

The streets were veritable open fairs on which every kind of profession and trade was plied. Chickens were baked over hot coals, quarters of pork turned on spits and chestnuts were roasted. Basketweavers, joiners, keymakers and iron-mongers

could be found with ease. Some people held trade monopolies, such as the Albani family which had the pin selling franchise. Not only products for good but products for evil were available on the streets. Poniards, dirks and guns might be had and venom from a poison factory at Perugia was regularly dispensed. Though cognizant of its existence, the Papal authorities were too much afraid of tasting its wares to seek its suppression. The poison bore the name of *acqua tofana* or *acqua di Perugia*. The bare mention of it was enough to make most people tremble.

The Papal States were overrun by jobless clerics, ragged beggars and penniless abbots. Rome with a population of 163,000 had 10,000 beggars, 5,000 priests, 3,500 friars, 1,500 monks and 36 bishops not attached to the Vatican. About 38,000 of the people of Rome were expected to obey the vows of celibacy. In ancient times, the city had had about 1,500,000 inhabitants. In the eighteenth century less than a third of the land within the city walls was inhabited or in production. During this same period, Naples with a population three times as large as Rome had less than twice the number of ecclesiastics the Pontifical capital had to support.

Beggars were to be seen everywhere and especially at the entrances to the churches. They exhibited every sort of wound, disease and deformity. The French



THE PIAZZA DI SPAGNO. THE STAIRWAY LEADS TO THE CHURCH OF THE TRINITA DE' MONTI

author Montesquieu stated that people, better dressed than he, accosted him in Rome demanding alms. Hand in hand with begging went petty crime. In his *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*, the historian Charles de Brosses mentioned that on one occasion he had two handkerchiefs and a snuff-box stolen from him in the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina. This happened before he had been inside the building five minutes. Many clerics and laymen alike ran a profitable business predicting the lucky numbers for the lotteries of Rome and Genoa. Other rascals told fortunes, and sold amulets and drugs. Gambling was prevalent with sharks and cheats of all sorts practicing their profession. Gaming house keepers never ceased to bemoan the fact that the chips they provided were pilfered with regularity. Several times a year crowds of beggars and poor formed at the doors of certain monasteries and princely dwellings for free donations of bread. A clever man might secure five or six handouts in one day and sometimes enough to sell. Wandering poetasters and versifiers improvised on any subject.

It was on the streets of Rome that the Abbé Gian Vincenzo Gravina met the boy Pietro Metastasio. He took the youth home, educated him, and ultimately named him his heir. Gravina's confidence was justified for Metastasio rose to be Caesarian poet to the court of Maria Theresa at Vienna. Musicians, magicians and toothdrawers also attracted crowds of the idle.

A different sort of entertainment might be obtained by wandering to the Piazza Navona. There petty criminals were tortured on the pillory. Papers were attached to them describing their crimes. More exciting was the sight of condemned men being given twenty-five to fifty lashes before the hangman began his work. Needless to add, crowds gathered to cheer and hoot at every execution.

Almost an incentive to crime was the right of asylum. Any person committing a breach of the law and who sought shelter in a church, embassy or cardinal's palace, was immune from seizure by the police so long as he remained in that place of refuge. In front of the Spanish ambassador's palace on the Piazza di Spagno were a number of stone pillars connected by iron chains to form a small enclosure. A culprit being chased by the city guards who found it possible to reach this enclosure could claim the right of asylum. The confraternities made a practice of sheltering and feeding such persons. These were brotherhoods where bodies of the pious gathered together for the performance of religious and charitable services. In Rome before 1789 there were five confraternities, those of the Rosary, Annunciation, Holy Sacrament, Jesus and of the Savior. Besides providing asylum for criminals, free hospital service

for the poor and homes for the aged, they distributed dowries to needy girls. These dots might not exceed 50 scudi for brides and 100 scudi for future nuns. Careful Romans did not hesitate to take the precaution of providing their daughters with several of these dowries.

Refusal to grant asylum to a suppliant carried with it the penalty of excommunication by the Church. It has been suggested that the vast majority of the assassinations which occurred in the Papal States might have been avoided if places of retreat had not been so accessible to the culprits. During the ten years and seven months of the reign of Clement XIII, 1758-1769, it was estimated that 4,000 murders took place in the capital and about 13,000 in the rest of the country.

The absence of street lighting was a contributory cause of crime. Until the nineteenth century Rome was without street lighting. Only occasional votive lamps, burning at street crossings before images of saints, broke the gloom. When Charles de Brosses wanted to adopt the French custom of carrying a lantern on his carriage to avoid collisions with other vehicles, he was warned that the public would not look favorably on such excesses of illumination. If a pair of lovers in an alleyway or palliated passers-by directed towards some mysterious adventure were surprised by the flashing of a lantern, they uttered the command, "Turn your lantern away." The bearer of the lamp had to be prompt in obeying to avoid a dagger blow. As a precaution against robbery, the lower windows of all buildings were secured with iron bars. Churches were the only exception to the rule.

One of the most distinctive classes of persons to be seen on the streets of Rome, Perugia, Bologna or Ferrara, were the innumerable abbes. Dressed in black with a short mantle and a white collar, these men were not necessarily members of any Church order or even celibates. Their garb was rather a type of uniform which a person seeking personal advancement might don. Cadet sons of poor but noble families, doctors, lawyers, notaries, professors, political functionaries, poets, go-betweens and even dentists called themselves abbes. They earned their living in a thousand diverse ways, by following a trade or profession, acting as agents for bankers and merchants, or serving as guides and making themselves useful to the 15,000 to 20,000 foreigners who visited Rome each year. On a lower level were the wandering ecclesiastics. These clerics lived a hand to mouth existence by saying Masses for the poor at bargain rates. Some called them "priests of the dead," because most of their time was spent in conducting services for the deceased.

The fashionables of the day gathered in the

Roman coffeehouses to gossip. The earliest of these dirty, dimly lighted buildings with rustic furniture was the *Caffè greco* in the Via Condotti, dating back to 1660. The *Caffè greco* was a favorite gathering place for artists and writers. *Café à la turque* had generally superseded chocolate as a beverage by the late eighteenth century and was a prime favorite at the *Caffè inglese* on the Piazza di Spagna, the *Caffè Aragno* and the *Caffè del veneziano*. This latter rendezvous, opened in 1745, served lemonade and iced drinks to the members of the higher nobility and clergy who gathered to read the *Cracas* and write epigrams for Pasquin and Marforio.

The *Cracas* was the popular name of a Roman journal which had existed under various titles since its first publication by Giovan Francesco Gracas in 1716. Pasquin, from which comes the word "pasquinade," was a mutilated statue of antiquity which had been found in 1501 in the city. Cardinal Oliviero Carafa raised it on a pedestal in front of his residence, the Palazzo Orsini. During succeeding centuries it became the symbol of anonymous Roman satire. Epigrams and lampoons were scribbled and pasted on it; few were the public figures to escape Pasquin's tongue. Many of the satires were in the form of conversations between Pasquin and Marforio. This latter was another statue, of the first century, A.D., and representing the River God. It was located near the Capitoline Hill.

The *Caffè del veneziano* had a wide clientele. Pietro Metastasio often sat on its red cushions and enjoyed its hospitality. The banker Turlonia (who changed his name to Torlonia when he received the title of marquis of Romavecchia) began his speculations there. For many years the haughty Palatine nobility scorned this upstart, calling him the marquis of Robavecchia, meaning "old trash." This was before Torlonia made himself useful to Popes Pius VI and Pius VII and was raised to the rank of duke and then prince.

The greatest vice of the Romans was laziness. Without a middle class, the population readily was divided into princes and paupers. Almost all commercial activities were in the hands of outsiders. The Genoese ran the hotels, the Swiss owned the pastry shops, the Friulians were the key makers and ironworkers. The masses of the Romans made their homes in the Trastevere district on the right bank of the Tiber. Living in dire poverty, earning small amounts of money by their wits, they spent their time on amusements and their coins on lottery tickets. This torpor so enervated the people that many no longer sought to better themselves. This may be gathered from complaints of visitors that it was impossible to hire Romans to run errands or execute commissions except during a few morning

or evening hours. Typical is the tale of the foreigner who entered a small shop to make a purchase, but was asked to return the following day because the goods wanted were on a shelf too high for the proprietor to reach.

The custom of the *cicisbeo* existed in Rome as elsewhere in Italy. Each nobleman was the *cicisbeo* or escort of a society lady. Except for a brief lunch and siesta at home with his family, he would spend the entire day from morning Mass to evening entertainment at the side of his lady. The entire system was governed by hard and fast rules of etiquette and the *cicisbeo* for a lady was sometimes specified in her marriage contract. The poet Giuseppe Parini brilliantly satirized the *cicisbeo* in his "The Day."

Compared with foreign nobility, Roman princes and prelates lived in comparative poverty. They rented out space on the ground floors of their palaces for small shops and offices. Valets and servants were employed for only a few hours every day, having to count on the protection of their masters and the *buon mano* for a living. The practice of the *buon mano* allowed servants to present their compliments to persons who had visited their employer's palace the day before and demand gratuities. The servants would return on New Year's day and several other times during the year for additional tips. Many nobles and high ecclesiastics ate at the cafés and inns, some for as little as a scudo per day. These poverty ridden nobles rarely gave or attended dinners, limiting entertainment to conversation, card playing and refreshments of ice cream and frozen sherbets.

Because of their position as princes of the Church the cardinals enjoyed many privileges and immunities not given to others. Two illustrations will show this. Cardinal Alessandro Albani was a famous antiquarian and patron of the archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Albani was so absorbed in his collections that he would admit no resistance to his whims. If money could not make the purchase he desired, he would seize the desired object by main force. It is said that once Albani wished to buy a monolith from the Prince of Palestrina. The Prince refused the Cardinal's bid, dismissed the matter from mind and soon afterwards went off on a trip. While Palestrina was gone, Albani sent a force of men to carry off the obelisk. When the Prince returned he had to laugh off the matter for their was no recourse against a member of the Sacred College.

Cardinal Troiano Acquaviva, Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, was the protagonist of the second story. In 1745 Francis of Lorraine was elected Holy Roman emperor at Frankfort. When news of this arrived, the pro-Austrian party at Rome imagined a sort of triumph. They dressed a child of about twelve years in tinsel and paraded him through the streets



of Rome shouting, "Long live the emperor!" This masquerade should have avoided the palaces of persons hostile to Austria. Instead it sought them out. The French ambassador took the matter with good humor, tossing a few coins to the crowd. Going to the Piazza di Spagno, the mob assembled in front of Acquaviva's embassy. At this point several shots were fired from the palace at the demonstrators. A number of persons fell killed and wounded, among them the costumed child. The people of Rome wanted to burn the palace. However, Acquaviva was able to collect a thousand irregular troops and four cannon to prevent this. When it became obvious that there was no hope for revenge, the mob gradually disappeared.

Exaggerated pride in their position now and then led the cardinals to compromise felonies. A criminal once took shelter under the portal of a church near the Apostolic Chancellery. No sooner had he reached this asylum than he began to quarrel with the doorman of the Chancellery. To end the dispute the doorman took a gun and shot the felon. He wounded the man and killed an old abbe who happened to be standing nearby. On hearing the news, the governor

of Rome, Monsignor Filippo Manente Buondelmonti, wanted to arrest the doorman. The Vice Chancellor, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, believed that his prestige would suffer should he allow judicial authority to punish a crime consummated by an inhabitant of his palace and a wearer of his livery. The result was that the doorkeeper went unpunished.

At the close of the eighteenth century in Rome, sanitation was not existent in the modern sense, zoning unthought of. Protestants were refused services or burial inside the capital. Jews were huddled in the ghetto, one of the worst sections of the city, and prohibited from removing to the outside. People died from malaria, the deaths being attributed to the will of God or the bad summer air. And the deceased were interred in the floors of the 400 Roman churches instead of in cemeteries. Yet it should be observed that these conditions were to be found elsewhere than in the Pope's dominions and in foreign states the hand of government was not tempered by the mildness of theocratic rule. Thus it was that taxes in the Papal States before the Revolution were only about a third of what they were in France.

## Revised Historical Viewpoints

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### THE PANAMA CONGRESS AND THE BALANCE OF POWER<sup>1</sup>

"Never let your right hand know what the left hand does," is an old adage well illustrated by the diplomacy of John Quincy Adams during the negotiations for the participation of the United States in the proposed Panama Congress of 1825-1826. President Adams publicly championed our attendance there while he privately worked against its success. This was not because of any personal insincerity, but because he was the head of a national state. As Sorel has said, the chief object of every state is the protection and advancement of its own self-interest. Adams desired to retain the friendship of the revolted Spanish colonies in the New World. At the same time he desired to delimit their influence while advancing the power and prestige of the United States in world politics. J. B. McMaster details his diplomacy in an account not generally revealed in many texts. Observers of past and present international conferences

for world peace may view them from a different perspective in the light of this account of balance of power politics.

In the spring of 1825 the ministers of Mexico, Guatemala and Colombia, in separate audiences accorded them by Secretary of State Clay, sounded him out on the American attitude toward a proposed invitation to attend a conference at Panama. They desired to acquaint him with the purposes of the conference, including our cooperation with a proposed confederation of the republics of Central and South America recently freed from Spanish rule.

Clay, after consulting Adams, told the ministers that the United States could not be expected to take part in their war with Spain or in any council for deliberating on the means of continuing the struggle for independence. Clay declared his government would like to know what subjects would be discussed before expressing a willingness to receive a formal invitation. Nothing more was heard of the matter until November, 1825.

Clay then endeavored to mediate between Spain and her former colonies. Neither he nor Adams de-

<sup>1</sup>J. B. McMaster, "Relations with Our Neighbors," *History of the People of the United States*, V (Edition of 1900) 433-459.

sired a liberated Cuba or Porto Rico. Neither did they want to see them in the hands of Britain. That country might receive them as a price of her aid to the Spanish revolutionary government in its resistance to the French invasion to restore the monarchy of the old regime in Spain. The United States preferred that they remain in the hands of Spain, a declining power. Adams, when Secretary of State, in his instructions to our minister at Madrid on April 28, 1823, had declared that Cuba, because of its strategic geographic position in the Caribbean, was of great importance to the commerce and national defense of the United States. He felt that the annexation of Cuba within half a century "will be indispensable to the continuance of the Union itself." (In his diary he declared that "We should wait until the pear is ripe.") A free Cuba, or Cuba under Spanish rule, if attacked by France, would depend upon the protection of the United States or Britain. Invasion by France or transfer to Britain implied our interference and resistance by force. He concluded his instructions by declaring: "Our wishes are that Cuba and Porto Rico may continue attached to Spain."

When the danger of a European or world war passed in 1823, the United States was free to concentrate solely on the intentions of the rebellious South American republics to attack and free Cuba and Porto Rico from Spanish rule. Success would mean emancipation of the Negro slaves in Cuba. A free Negro republic off the coast of our slave states would be a source of constant danger to the South. Clay, on April 1825, in his instructions to Everett, our minister at Madrid, directed him to persuade Spain to cease its war against the revolted colonies. There was no hope of success against the colonies Clay declared, adding that President Adams desired to see the war ended for Spain itself, for humanity, and for the general repose of the world. The United States was "satisfied with the present condition of the islands in the hands of Spain"; and "desired no political change in that condition."

After he had been approached by South American representatives in the spring of 1825 Clay wrote Middleton, our minister at St. Petersburg, asking him to induce the Czar to mediate between Spain and her colonies. Nothing came of it. The situation grew worse again in the summer of 1825 when a French fleet appeared off the coast of Cuba. The United States protested to France. Mexico appealed to us to apply the Monroe Doctrine on her behalf.

In November, 1825, the ministers of Mexico, Guatemala and Colombia extended a formal invitation to the United States to attend a proposed conference at Panama. Adams accepted. He was fully cognizant from conversations with the ministers and

the official *Gazette* of Colombia of the purposes of the conference. He knew that it was to discuss waging war against Spain; to consider freeing Cuba and Porto Rico; to plan the implementing of the Monroe Doctrine; and to consider resistance against foreign interference in the domestic affairs of American governments.

On December 26, 1825, Middleton was informed by Clay that we desired no change in Cuba; that we would not permit any other power to seize Cuba and Porto Rico, or allow the South Americans to inaugurate a race war there. If either event happened, the United States would have to interfere. Britain, France and Mexico were also informed.

In his special message to the Senate, on the same day, submitting the nomination of two representatives to the conference, Adams withheld his private information as to its purposes. He advised the Senate that the government would not bind itself to engage in war or to contract alliances. He further declared the objects of the conference to be those of friendship: to give good advice; to arrange for commercial reciprocity; to define blockade and neutral rights; to stop privateering or piracy; to cooperate in abolishing the slave trade; and to urge just and liberal principles of religious liberty. Adams refused to divulge confidential documents and favored secret sessions in debate. He was sustained by a party vote, and debate proceeded in secret session. The debate presented two main objections to our representation at the conference: (1) The Senate was opposed to a league of republics and to entangling alliances. (2) Opponents objected to applying the Monroe Doctrine to aid the Negro republic of Haiti or to free Cuba and Porto Rico. The encouragement and support there of emancipation would disquiet the South.

Hayne of South Carolina and White of Tennessee declared that Monroe's famous doctrine was merely a pledge of his own and did not bind the United States. Both Senators objected to aiding Cuba and Porto Rico to independence, for that would mean freeing the slaves and disquieting our southern and western slave states. Berrien of Georgia and Benton similarly objected. Benton also declared they could not tolerate black consuls in southern states. He objected to the nomination of Sergeant who was anti-slavery and had opposed the admission of Missouri in 1820 as a slave state. He said that to send Anderson, pro-slavery, was not enough. We should send a man as assistant to him and not as an opponent. He queried, when it was not permitted to discuss slavery in the Senate, why send representatives to Panama to discuss it? This concern for the slave interests in the United States had also been one of Adams' reasons for privately opposing the conference.

The Senate finally approved the nominations, but the same debate was repeated in the House when appropriations to pay expenses were considered. Finally, the House in April, 1826 concurred by passing a bill to pay the expenses of the two delegates. They set out in June, but Anderson died on the way. Sergeant never attended the conference. At Panama he

found that the conference had adjourned to a city in Mexico. Arriving there he found it postponed owing to outbreaks of domestic violence in the republics. Sergeant returned home without accomplishing anything. Adams pleased the republics and initiated several decades of effort of keeping Spain in control of Cuba until 1898, when "the pear was ripe."

## Some Questions for Discussion

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Is the teaching of social studies gaining new impetus in wartime? I believe that the answer is definitely "Yes." The war has made everyone, students and adults alike, more historically minded and more conscious of geographical factors. It has brought them closer to their government and to public affairs in general. It has aroused greater concern over economic and social problems.

The war has caused more students to read widely and to discuss current affairs with more intense interest, if not more intelligently and impartially. It need not be emphasized that this new interest in the discussion of current affairs is of extreme importance from the point of view of social studies teaching. Many secondary schools have organized discussion groups or forums which constitute a worthy supplement to the social studies.

It is significant that discussion groups are part of the program of education for men in the United States armed forces. The following quotation might be of interest:

Soldiers in the European theater of operations are receiving a new kind of training in the form of discussion groups which are a part of an educational program planned to supplement the men's knowledge of the people and lands which they contact. Before the course begins the first issue of *Army Talk*, which will be a weekly discussion guide, will be distributed to every officer and noncommissioned discussion leader in the European theater of operation. There will be four sections in each issue, containing an explanation of the topic, its salient points, the methods, techniques and procedures for presentation, and material for a discussion of the topic, with questions and answers.<sup>1</sup>

A good example of a student forum or discussion group is found in the George Washington High

School, Indianapolis, Indiana. This group plans its program and selects topics several months in advance of meetings. A competent adult is chosen as discussion leader for each session. The general theme selected for emphasis during the second semester of last year was, "Planning for Participation in Tomorrow's World." The schedule of meetings and topics for discussion for March and April are given below:

*March 5.*

"Background of the War." Discussion led by Mr. O. S. Flick, Head of the Social Science Department, Arsenal Technical High School, Indianapolis.

*March 11.*

"World Resources for War and Peace." Discussion led by Miss Frances G. Moder, Social Science Teacher, George Washington High School.

*March 18.*

"Postwar Planners: What Agencies are Interested; and How Are They Proceeding?" Discussion led by Mr. Hugh McK. Landon, Chairman, Indiana Committee for Victory.

*March 30.*

"Colonial Problems After the War." Discussion led by Dr. John G. Coulter, Executive Secretary, Indiana Committee for Victory.

*April 1.*

"Issues of the War: What Are We Fighting For?" Discussion led by Dr. DeWitt S. Morgan, Superintendent of Schools.

*April 12.*

"What is Involved in Race Relations?" Discussion led by Mr. Cleo Blackburn, Director of Flanner House.

*April 20.*

"The Political-International Problems of Peace." Discussion led by Miss Minnie Lloyd, Head of the

<sup>1</sup>"Duty Time Education Program Announced for Soldiers," *The Education Digest*, IX (October, 1943), 11.



Social Science Department, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis.

April 27.

"Latin American Relations." Discussion led by Mr. William H. Bock, Head of the Language department, George Washington High School.

At the beginning of the last school year, I started listing topics and questions in which members of my classes were interested and wanted to discuss. Later in the year I wrote to a few other social studies teachers in various parts of the country and asked them to suggest the questions in which their students were most interested in discussing. Replies were received from junior and senior high schools in seventeen states, and from a class in sociology at the University of North Carolina whose instructor was Dr. Harold D. Meyer.

There was much repetition of questions and topics which indicated that the students—junior and senior high and university—were conscious of about the same problems. The following is the list of questions compiled by the teachers of classes in American Problems in the Des Moines, Iowa, Public Schools:

#### Youth Problems

1. How can youth secure reputable places of entertainment?
2. Juvenile delinquency—causes, cure, responsibility.
3. Athletics in wartime.
4. Should the voting age be lowered to eighteen years?
5. Should the United States adopt a compulsory military training program or national service program for all boys?
6. What are the responsibilities of young people to society and how can they best meet them?

#### National Problems

1. Should an extended program of security as suggested by President Roosevelt's second Bill of Rights be put into effect?
2. Relationship of the Executive and Legislative branches of the government.
3. Should Congress enact legislation for compulsory labor conscription?
4. Should strikes be outlawed for the duration?
5. How can industry best be converted to peacetime civilian production?
6. Are we winning the fight against inflation?
7. What kind of postwar world do we want? The prospects of youth in the postwar world.

#### International Problems

1. Demobilization and plans for return to peacetime economy.

2. Race and minority group relations and problems.

3. Should the treaty ratification powers of Congress be changed?

4. What type of international organization will succeed best in maintaining peace?

After questions and topics had been gathered from teachers and students, it occurred to me that it would be interesting to compare the questions with a set of questions suggested by a group of prominent persons who have been recognized for outstanding achievements in various fields. I selected a group of twenty-five names, mostly from *Who's Who In America*, and wrote to each stating that I was compiling a list of questions on current affairs and problems suitable for discussion in secondary-school groups, and would appreciate any question or questions they might wish to suggest. Fifteen replies were received. It might be significant to mention that this letter resulted in another list of questions which was strikingly similar to those which had been suggested by students and teachers. Below are given quotations from three of the letters; the same ideas will be found in the list submitted by the American Problems classes of Des Moines:

In the future, the quality of your life will be determined to a great degree by what you do with your hours when you are *not* working at your earning-a-living job. During those hours you are free to do as you wish, not as you need (as on a job). To do something coherent and worthwhile in those hours and days and years is, in the end, much more *enjoyable* than "just fooling around." How best can I prepare myself to get the real good, joy, satisfaction out of these hours freed by modern machines and modern organization from the drudgery which filled sixteen hours out of every twenty-four for a great-grandfather?—Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Arlington, Vermont.

The most significant question facing the country today, in my opinion, is: What is going to take the place, when the war ends, of a hundred billion dollars' worth a year of government spending?

Everyone with any brains in the country today should be concentrating on the question, for if it is not answered satisfactorily we will drop into a bottomless depression. Some people think private enterprise can do it alone, but in view of the fact that business men have not been responsible for employing all our people at any time during the past thirty years, it looks to me as if both social security and public works would have to provide part of the answer.—Stuart Chase, Georgetown, Connecticut.

Why is the nation so concerned over the rising rate of juvenile delinquency and how can it be curtailed?—J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C.

It seems that there are many important topics and questions which social studies classes and student discussion groups might profitably consider at the present time. The list which is given below was compiled from the sets which were submitted by students and teachers and those suggested by prominent persons as described above. No attempt has been made to arrange them in order of importance or to group them according to certain topical classifications. However, those given at the first of the list deal mostly with current affairs and problems, and the others with educational and youth problems. There were so many and such a variety of questions submitted that time did not permit the elimination of all duplications and overlappings. The questions are as follows:

1. How can consumers in America buy the products that industry will turn out when national income is about 150 billion dollars?
2. Should all income taxes be levied by the federal government with a provision for repayment to the states of a certain proportion on the basis of taxable income in each such state?
3. When we win the war, should the United States accept control over those islands in the Pacific previously mandated to Japan?
4. What will be the influence of control of the Panama Canal Zone by the United States in future trade relations of the world?
5. Should Hong Kong be returned to China, or remain as a possession of the British Empire?
6. Should Canada work in closer cooperation with the United States than with Great Britain?
7. How are we going to pay for the war and avoid inflation?
8. How important is the Bill of Rights in American democracy and are these rights endangered by the war?
9. Is the United States Constitution as important for our future as it has been in the past? Aside from winning the war, is anything more important to Americans at the present time than preserving our Constitution?
10. What are the principles of the American way of life? What are the means that the school provides to learn and practice the principles of the American way of life?
11. Will our democratic way of life, partially relinquished in wartime, be restored?
12. Should mothers engage in war industrial work?
13. What are some of the implications for the postwar period of the earlier wartime marriages? Should servicemen, or those likely to be called into service, marry in wartime?
14. How has the airplane changed the relationship of our country to the rest of the world? How is the airplane likely to influence life in the future?
15. Should our country take the lead in establishing a United Nations government with police power, or power to maintain peace?
16. Has the war caused an increase of interest in religion and problems of a religious nature?
17. How might the course of modern history have been different if the United States had become a member of the League of Nations at the end of the First World War?
18. What part must communities play in providing postwar jobs? What are some of the ways your community can guard against postwar unemployment?
19. Should the United States fight until unconditional surrender of the enemy?
20. How large a military force should the United States maintain after the war?
21. What should be done about employment of soldiers returning from the war?
22. Should all citizens be interested in the functioning of their local government, and, if so, why should politics be completely severed from local law enforcement agencies?
23. Why have so many responsible citizens voluntarily submitted their fingerprints to the FBI for inclusion in the Civil Identification Files? What good are your fingerprints to you?
24. After the war, how are we going to meet the problem of total use of our men, machines, and resources?
25. What would another huge and prolonged depression such as the last one probably do to our democratic way of life? Why is it necessary to plan now in order to avoid another depression?
26. How can future wars be avoided? What are the plans which have been proposed for preventing future wars?
27. What must the United Nations do to bring about a world order based on justice, fraternity, and morality?
28. Are all races equal in potential intelligence and culture?
29. Will the next war be between the white and yellow races, and what can be done to prevent it?
30. How much of the New Deal will continue to be a part of American life?
31. After the war, how can war industries be reconverted to peacetime production most efficiently? How can industry avoid being swamped by about

\$75 billions in war materials in the process of demobilization?

32. Should peace be concluded by the United States by means of a joint resolution requiring the consent of a majority of each house of Congress rather than a treaty requiring the consent of two-thirds of the Senate?

33. What will be the effect on future peace of hating or distrusting foreign peoples, or Jews, Negroes, Chinese, or other minority groups? How do fifth column propagandists in the United States make use of hatred and distrust among groups in this country to achieve their ends?

34. Should the total net income of any one individual for any one year be limited to \$25,000 after taxes have been paid?

35. In the postwar period, what opportunities will there be for trade expansion, particularly with South America and in the Pacific?

36. What have been the effects of the excessive cutting of timber for war industries upon the future of our forest land both privately owned and in national forests?

37. Is there any net employment to be found in foreign trade? Who pays for it? What happens when exports exceed imports?

38. Should state legislatures consist of one house as in Nebraska or of two houses as in other states?

39. Why are tax forms so complicated, and what can be done about it?

40. Why are workers in essential industries permitted to strike while soldiers must obey orders or be shot? What are our greatest labor problems and how can they be solved?

41. What can be done to solve the problems of inter-racial and inter-cultural relationship in the United States? What part can schools play?

42. Should federal aid be provided for elementary and secondary education in accordance with the bill now before Congress?

43. What control should the United Nations exercise over education in defeated countries after the war?

44. What do high school students think of compulsory physical education and compulsory military training?

45. Should one year of compulsory military service be required of all young men after the war? What is the attitude of young people toward it?

46. After the war shall we provide a year of education at government expense for all service personnel?

47. What can young people do to help men who have been in active combat service, and especially those who have been seriously wounded, to reduce their feeling of bitterness and to help them adjust

themselves successfully to civilian life?

48. How can the concerted effort to promote the sale of alcoholic beverages be combated?

49. How can boys and girls who have been getting wartime wages be helped to adjust to a more normal wage scale?

50. What can youth do about the present crime wave among young people?

51. Should all states follow the example of Georgia and lower the voting age to eighteen years?

52. Why more than ever before is guidance needed especially for high-school students?

53. Are extra-class activities numerous and varied enough in the average secondary school?

54. Should credit be given for extra-class activities in high school?

55. How can students participate in the government of their school?

56. How can physical education become more integrated in school life?

57. If high school youth have planned to go to college after graduation, should they go ahead and start, or should they sacrifice their ambition now and go immediately into service or war work?

58. What types of recreation are best suited to wartime needs of young people?

59. How has the war increased our responsibilities?

60. What changes have taken place in your community as a result of the war?

61. Has the war made us realize the importance of things which we ordinarily take for granted?

62. Are Americans growing soft, self-centered, and selfish?

63. How can we make medical service available to all?

64. What can be done to safeguard the health of our people during wartime? Is the family doctor to become extinct?

65. What are the educational values of work experiences? How is the war making it possible for all young people to secure work experiences? Should the high schools provide work experiences for all students after the war?

66. Are young people "growing up" more rapidly in wartime?

67. What can the school and home do to help young people meet the new responsibilities which they are called upon to assume as the result of changed conditions?

68. What are the traits and characteristics which a mature and responsible adult should possess?

69. What are some worthy life goals and why should they be developed during high school years? How do activities lead to the development of worthy life goals?



70. What should be the place of education for leisure in our schools in wartime?

71. What part should education play in the reconstruction period following the war?

72. Why is it important that young people save and invest wisely a part of their earnings? What will probably be the reactions of young people when the period of big earnings comes to an end?

73. What are the values of extracurricular activities in high schools and colleges? Is one's duties first to his studies or to his outside activities?

74. Who among the graduates of high schools, colleges, and universities are more successful—those who have been leaders in activities or those with high scholarship?

75. What are the ways you as a high school student can help to improve your community? How can you make your influence felt?

76. How can high school students learn to read the newspaper intelligently? What can one learn about citizenship from the newspaper?

77. After graduation from high school, how can young people best serve their country and at the same time plan for their own future?

78. How are the postwar economic readjustments likely to effect the lives of present high-school youth?

79. How has the war situation complicated the

problems of young people? What are the chief problems facing young people at the present time?

80. Should an education concentrate largely on preparing one to earn a living or are other values very important?

81. How can young people prepare best to make a success of marriage and the bringing up of children?

82. What part should young people take in politics? What are some community civic activities in which young people can participate?

83. How would it be possible for high schools to offer more courses which will give students an opportunity to study and gain an insight into the kind of vocations for which they are fitted?

84. Why do boys and girls sometimes find it difficult to get along with others? What should high school students know about the social side of life? What are the traits you as a high school student admire in others? How can you make and keep friends?

85. Should there be an interchange of high school and university students between North and South America?

86. If you had an opportunity to interview Thomas Jefferson, what questions would you want to ask him?

## Let's Write the Editor!

CARLOS DE ZAFRA, JR.

*John Marshall High School, Rochester, New York*

As a social studies teacher I had for years experienced the uncomfortable feeling of not practicing all that I preached. I had propounded the doctrine that the growing American custom of writing letters to editors was a significant embodiment of the very essence of the democratic spirit. That spontaneous and unsolicited outbursts of John Citizen could find their way into print alongside the more grammatical and learned dissertations of professional observers and propagandists seemed to me to be a healthy phenomenon in this age of highly centralized press control. It was the free discussion of the Town Meeting come to print.

Yet in spite of these fine words I had never written a letter to an editor myself. Perhaps I felt that, after all, letters to editors were written either by long-haired, hollow-eyed cranks or by harried housewives who were dissatisfied with the milkman's service. I wrote letters to congressmen—even had some fancy replies for classroom display which were effective in

getting pupils to strike up a correspondence of their own. But I had no displays of my letters to editors.

Then gradually I did begin to write letters to editors about current local, national and even international concerns, just to be able to say that I did practice what I preached. Surprisingly, I discovered that I was having a mighty good time at the sport not only because of the little thrill that comes from seeing something you have written come to light in the public press, but also because of my growing hope and belief that one's sincere message can contribute at least something toward furthering the public welfare. According to a national survey publicized by Raymond Gram Swing, the letters-to-the-editor section is the second most frequently read part in any paper. To hold a class contest for the best letter to the editor on any given subject of public concern obviously contains the elements of a good teaching technique.

I'll not take time here to deal at length with some

of our letters to local editors concerning such matters as the retail distribution of milk in war time, the air-raid warning service, and the opening of banks in farm centers on Saturday nights, much as I believe that local concerns are often the most important to the pupils themselves. I should like, rather, to give the evidence that won a little side wager to the effect that it would be impossible for anyone to get three successive letters published in the columns of *Life* magazine on topics of classroom interest. The possibilities for coordinating these letters, and letters like them, with classroom procedures and lessons will be apparent to the teacher of social studies.

In the issue of *Life* for August 23, 1943, there was an excellent editorial on the State Department of our national government which was a most forceful piece of writing. Among other things it declared:

We are not getting effective government from the Department of State—and for two chief reasons.

The first reason is that the Department is badly administered. . . .

The second reason . . . [is that] the administration of our foreign policy is faulty because there is no visible foreign policy to administer.

In the September 13 issue of *Life* my observations were printed as follows:

Sirs:

Your editorial of August 23 re: the shortcomings of our State Department will probably fetch down upon your heads such cries as "un-American," "unpatriotic," and "aid to the Axis"; but I for one feel that such plain talk about this particular subject has long been overdue, and that your effective publicizing of this important but weak element in our foreign relations is one of the most patriotic services a popular magazine can render.

In 1934-1935 I was privileged, as a member of a graduate class at N.Y.U., to make a rather detailed comparative study of the State Departments of five of the world's leading nations, namely the United States, England, France, Italy and Germany. It was our amazing but undeniable conclusion that of the five State Departments studied ours definitely rated lowest in such important matters as the mechanics of its organization, the ability requirements for its personnel, and its proportional financial resources. The accepted idiom—"The navy is our first line of defense—is in itself a long-standing

reflection on the capabilities of our State department.<sup>1</sup>

It was not until the issue of March 27, 1944, that I again felt sufficiently stirred to assay *Life's* columns. It was while reading William C. Bullitt's article entitled "Tragedy of Versailles" (later reprinted in the June, 1944, issue of *Reader's Digest*) that I wrote this letter which was printed in *Life's* issue of April 17:

Sirs:

The searing truth of Bullitt's superb article is that the United States can establish world peace only through masterful diplomatic strokes while our allies are still dependent on us for their physical preservation.

Just as President Wilson was not the shrewd, Yankee horse trader that he should have been in exacting terms from our allies that might have prevented World War II, so there is alarmingly little evidence that President Roosevelt is not repeating the same disastrous failure by not binding our present allies to the international agreements that will prevent World War III.

(I might add parenthetically that the unexpected pay-off on this second letter was a V-mail note from an erstwhile college roommate of mine, of whom I had not heard a word for more than six years. On special assignment in Naples, Italy, he had picked up the April 17 issue of *Life* and had immediately dashed off the communication that re-established our contact and has since led to a rather lusty correspondence.)

My third letter to appear in *Life* was written in the interests of agricultural accuracy. With a background of summer vacations from age eight to eighteen spent on a farm in Connecticut's Berkshire Hills, and with two years of adult farming experience under my belt, *Life's* brief write-up on Henry Ford in the issue of July 25, 1944, elicited from my pen this letter to the editor which, when published in the issue of August 14, was accompanied by an editorial comment:

Sirs:

Henry Ford is admittedly a man of amazing industrial accomplishments, but when you suggest that at ten years of age "it was easy for him to cut twenty-five acres (of wheat) a day" with a two-horse binder, you are placing him in the realm of agricultural mythology.

I'll holler "uncle" for any man who can cut fifteen acres a day with such equipment, and then I'll call the A.S.P.C.A.

*Life's* editorial comment was:

<sup>1</sup> All excerpts from *Life* quoted in this article are reproduced with the permission of the editors of *Life*.

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At the time *Life* took the pictures, eighty-year-old Henry Ford, indeed an amazing man, himself recalled cutting the twenty-five acres of wheat at the age of ten.

It is recognized, of course, that the specific opinions expressed in the above letters are relatively unimportant to the main thesis of the present article.

My conclusion from this first-hand experience,

which now extends over several years, is that the writing of sincere letters to various editors on topics of public concern by social studies teachers and/or their classes is a valuable teaching technique, a genuine contribution to the functioning of the democratic processes which social studies teachers are especially well-qualified to further, and a thoroughly satisfying pastime for the individuals who participate.

## Japan and Russia, Friends or Enemies?

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Japan and Russia—is theirs a friendly relationship or is it full of enmity? True, there have been treaties that might seem to indicate a steadfast friendship between them. In 1910 and again in 1912, the two countries made treaties re-affirming the status quo of the Far East, i.e., the Korean rights of Japan were recognized and the Russians and Japanese divided Manchuria into spheres of influence.<sup>1</sup> In 1915 it was Japan who helped Russia to increase her sadly depleted stock of munitions.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later, the world saw another treaty; it secured extensive oil and coal concessions to Japanese firms; Russia promised not to permit the spreading of revolutionary groups in Japanese territory and Japan agreed to settle the Russian claim for damages at subsequent conferences.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in the year of Pearl Harbor, 1941, a group of watchful nations noted the signing of a non-aggression pact by the two nations.<sup>4</sup>

No enmity between Japan and Russia? A casual observer would answer in the negative. But to those who have considered the problem, it is no surprise to discover that Russia and Japan have really been at war with each other for ten years.<sup>5</sup> This war has not been a declared one, nor has it been an all-out effort to conquer and subjugate; rather it has consisted of many border skirmishes, followed by sharp notes of protest from the two governments. When war is declared, each side may claim aggression as a pretext for the concentrated battle. The hate and fear which separates the two is old in origin and passionate in nature. Russia and Japan have been and continue to be steadfast enemies.

To find the beginning of hostility it is necessary to go as far back as 1861, when Russia was already busily engaged in stepping on the toes of her island neighbor. In 1861 Russia seized Tauchima from the Japanese and made Japan realize that Russia was usurping Japanese rights. Although the British intervened to recover the territory for Japan,<sup>6</sup> Japan was not completely mollified; then and there the Japanese began formulating elaborate plans against Russia.

Incident after incident added up to make the list of grievances a long one; the Russians moved their naval base to Vladivostok, only ten degrees south of the Japanese base at Nikolaiivsk; Russia forced Japan to give her rights to Saghalin in return for the Kuril Islands which already belonged to Japan;<sup>7</sup> the Russians took over Port Arthur. All of these added fuel to the flame, but the indifference and contempt with which Russia met the Japanese attempts to settle the difficulties brought the nation to a boiling point.<sup>8</sup> The result was the Russo-Japanese war.

It is truly amazing that the Japanese should have fought that war. The country was like a moth, newly-emerged from its chrysalis, still very weak after its long sojourn in the enfolding protection of darkness. Japan had just burst forth from oblivion and was a rising power. She rightly feared her Russian neighbor, for did not Russia possess the resources and advantages which Japan, as a budding nation, had not yet had time to acquire? The Russia of that time might not be considered formidable judged by the standards of the present, but to the still rather helpless Japan of that day, Russia was a veritable ogre. Japan feared Russia's strength, Russia's resources, and Russia's numbers; yet she made a supreme effort,

<sup>1</sup> George V. Vernadsky, *Political and Diplomatic History of Russia* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1936), p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>4</sup> Maurice Hindus, *Russia and Japan* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1942), p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> R. Fujisawa, *Recent Aims and Political Development of Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-75.

<sup>8</sup> E. A. Walsh, *Fall of the Russian Empire* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1928), p. 69.

through taxing and scrimping<sup>9</sup> and saving, to wage and win the war.

Since that time, Japan has so advanced that she need fear neither the usurping of her rights nor the power of Russia. In the past twenty-five years, the nature of their antagonism has altered. Now Japan and Russia are enemies on the basis of power—there is bound to be friction between two such strong nations so close together, especially when they have conflicting aims.

Russian and Japanese interests in Manchuria, Korea, and China are overlapping to a very great extent. Japan seems to have won out in Manchuria and Korea. The fight for Manchuria was a long and bitter contest, with Japan winning little by little. The Japanese achieved success in small portions. First of all, Japan obtained spheres of influence in Manchuria by the Treaty of Portsmouth, which brought to an end the Russo-Japanese War in 1905.<sup>10</sup> Japan steadily increased her influence even though, shortly after the Soviet Revolution, Russia flooded Manchuria with pro-Communist propaganda.<sup>11</sup> Naturally, this alarmed the Japanese greatly. The propagandists had an intricate plan of revolution formed for Manchuria, but after the Treaty of 1924, the plan was given up and the amount of Communistic material used became of little consequence.<sup>12</sup> The Japanese then became more and more active and, as a culmination, declared Manchuria to be Manchoukuo, an independent state. Since then (1931) it has been nothing more than a puppet state under Japan. Russia is still keeping a wary eye on the activities of Japan in Manchoukuo. The Russian border is heavily fortified and Russia is ready to repel instantly any attack from Japan which might come through Manchoukuo.<sup>13</sup>

Korea is regarded as Japanese property; the status of Korea is that of a completely conquered state. Prior to 1900 Russia had much interest and influence in Korea. The Russo-Japanese war was the death of the Russian influence and after that it was comparatively simple for Japan to take over.<sup>14</sup>

In China, the battle is still raging over who shall

be paramount. The Russians, by converting many of the Chinese to Communism, have made great strides, but at present, Japan is fighting a war with China to gain pre-eminence.

Russia, through her influence in these countries, is keeping Japan from attaining her most lofty ambition—predominance in the Far East. Japan hates and fears that country which prevents the realization of her long-cherished dream. The long history of her conflict with Russia has left a deep sear on the soul of Japan. Russia does not go unscathed either. Russia's face is dark with the ill-suppressed animosity she feels for Japan. In the biography of Russia the name "Japan" is much linked with the words "trouble" and "war." Yes, Russia returns in full measure the hatred and fear of Japan.

Before the Russo-Japanese war, Russia thought little of Japan, but when the banner of the Rising Sun was raised in warfare, Russia took a different view. The blow from Japan was sudden and unexpected.<sup>15</sup> In fact, before the Russians came to the realization that war was really being waged, Japan had actually fought and won several battles. The war, of only one year's duration, was a victory for the Japanese. Not a total victory, it is true; in reality it was more of a truce.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless Japan fared well and the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth were really in her favor.<sup>17</sup> Russia, who had not wanted war, had it forced upon her. She recognized then the position of the rising power; that Japan was no longer a nation to be pushed aside, but, instead, that she had developed into a neighboring menace.<sup>18</sup> For the first time, there was real fear in Eastern Russia. After the treaty was signed, things went on between the Russians and the Japanese in the same desultory fashion for a period of years: peace and apparent harmony followed by periods of quarrels and strife.

Violent antagonism arose immediately after the Soviet Revolution. Japan, fearing the effect Communism might have upon China, strove to put an end to Bolshevism in Russia. For this purpose, Japan occupied Vladivostok on the excuse that foreigners (i.e. those not Russians) were in danger.<sup>19</sup> The

<sup>9</sup> R. Fujisawa, *Recent Aims and Political Development of Japan*, p. 175.

<sup>10</sup> Grover Clark, *Economic Revolution in China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933), p. 57.

<sup>11</sup> K. K. Kawakami, *Manchoukuo, Child of Conflict* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), p. 275.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277. The author says that the Soviet government disclaimed authority for the actions of the Third International. However, since the government and the party were continually identified with one another, it seems probable that it was at the instigation of the government that the party (Third International) distributed propaganda in Manchuria.

<sup>13</sup> H. Hessel Tiltman, *The Far East Comes Nearer* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Company, 1937), p. 92.

<sup>14</sup> C. N. E. Eliot, "Japan," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XII (1942), 923.

<sup>15</sup> "Russo-Japanese War," *Ibid.*, XIX (1942), 759.

<sup>16</sup> R. Fujisawa, *Recent Aims and Political Development of Japan*, p. 231.

<sup>17</sup> The terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth included: (1) Russia recognized Japan's interests in Korea; (2) Russia and Japan evacuated Manchuria; (3) Russia transferred to Japan her (Russia's) lease on the Liaotung peninsula; (4) Russia ceded the southern half of Saghalin to Japan; (5) Russia promised to pay Japan £4,000,000 indemnity for prisoner expense.

<sup>18</sup> R. Fujisawa, *Recent Aims and Political Development of Japan*, p. 251.

<sup>19</sup> *Japanese Intervention in the Far East*. Published by the Special Delegation of the Far Eastern Republic to the United States of America (Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1922), p. 7.

Japanese instituted and kept up a campaign of pillaging which terrorized the Russian peasants, both in a military and in an economic way.<sup>20</sup> Even when the other Allied Nations had withdrawn, Japan remained to try to prevent the entrance of the Soviet Government into Vladivostok. It was only upon the advice of the United States that Japan consented to withdraw in 1922.<sup>21</sup> Russia knew then that there was an active enemy of Communism nearby; and that that enemy, Japan, would not give up the struggle against it altogether, although she might be forced to continue in a more surreptitious manner. The threat of another conflict with Japan hung like a dark cloud over Moscow.

There was another avenue of fear open, too. The Japanese had long been casting covetous looks towards the Mongolian territory and it was no secret in influential circles in Japan that she would like to form the whole of Mongolia into a puppet state. Included in the Mongolian territories are Outer Mongolia and Buriah Mongolia, both of which are under Russia.<sup>22</sup> This Japanese threat to Russian peace has

<sup>20</sup> About the same time Japan decided that the German prisoners in Manchuria were a menace; Japan occupied Manchuria on the pretext of protecting China. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>22</sup> H. Hessel Tiltman, *The Far East Comes Nearer*, p. 168.

been a cause of many of the numerous "border incidents." As a result of attempts by Japan to take over Mongolia, frightened Russia has amassed a military force near at hand and Stalin has made the hands-off proclamation of "what we have, we hold."<sup>23</sup> Japan, apparently willing to bide her time, is content with sniping activities at present, but her ambition is still centered on the Russian controlled territory.

From Japan's emergence as a small power in the middle of the nineteenth century through her growth to the formidable nation she is today, she has retained steadfastly her enmity towards Russia—an enmity which Russia feels for Japan, too. Wars—one declared, and one as yet still undeclared; disputes over boundaries, territories, trade, interferences—these are a few of the factors lending to the story of Russo-Japanese relations the blood-red color that makes the two stand out so definitely as enemies. It seems impossible to visualize the existence of any other state of affairs between them. Yet, in ten years, or even ten months, who can tell what may happen? Whether or not they will reconcile their differences and become irrevocable friends is a question which must remain in the "I predict" zone.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

## Inter-American Cooperation in Health Work

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There is a phase of inter-American cooperation which presents a particularly striking contrast with the aggressions of militaristic powers. A high order of cooperation has been achieved among the American republics in the interest of building a peaceful and better civilization in the New World and protecting this hemisphere against the designs of would-be world conquerors. Inter-American cooperation has progressed to new heights of achievement in the past eighteen months. Notably it has moved forward in the field of health and sanitation.

The health and sanitation work has evolved from the conference of American foreign ministers held at Rio de Janeiro soon after Pearl Harbor. That conference adopted a large program to strengthen the defenses of the hemisphere and to mobilize the economic resources of the Americas. To support this mobilization, the conference recommended coopera-

tive health and sanitation measures, to be undertaken by the American republics within their individual capacities to contribute funds, technical skill, materials and labor. In accordance with the Rio recommendations, the United States has entered into health and sanitation agreements with fifteen of the other American republics. This work rests on the firm foundations laid through many years of health progress by the other American republics, by private organizations and by the Pan American Sanitary Bureau. The pioneering and established organizations are aiding in generous measure the supplemental program which was made necessary by the scale of wartime projects for defense and for mobilization of hemisphere resources.

This supplementary program has taken form in wartime. It has its origin in wartime necessity. This necessity in part is the imperative need for develop-



ing new and additional hemisphere resources of minerals, fibers and other tropical-grown materials. These are required partly to offset loss of supplies from outside the Western Hemisphere. This humane work in the field of health and sanitation is symbolic of the friendly relations of the American republics, of their sincere urge to cooperate and to work closely together toward the goal of making life in the Americas better for the average human being. The hospital built through inter-American cooperation might well symbolize the constructive objectives of the inter-American system. It is a symbol which speaks for the saving of human lives. The cannon, the symbol of military aggression, stands for destruction of human life.

The doctors, nurses, sanitary engineers and others at work in the inter-American health and sanitation program are legions of peace. They are carrying into action the Good Neighbor spirit which animates inter-American relations. The program embraces hundreds of construction projects and health activities. These include many new hospitals, health centers, dispensaries, nursing schools, sanitation works and training projects. These add up to the largest health and sanitation program yet undertaken on the basis of inter-American cooperation. The nursing schools, hospitals and health centers will remain after the war as monuments to the peaceful and the humane goals of inter-American cooperation.

Long ago, through such institutions as the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, improvement in hemisphere health standards was recognized as one of the major objectives of inter-American cooperation. Now the need for inter-American collaboration in this work is more compelling than ever. War, even while it results in wholesale destruction of life, generates counter-measures to protect life. We have our soldiers of production on the home fronts as well as soldiers on the overseas battle fronts. And, for the safeguarding of the Americas, it is just as necessary to have healthy soldiers on the production fronts as on the military fronts. One aim of the health and sanitation program is to help protect our soldiers of production while, at the same time, continuing to move toward the long-range goal of higher living standards for the peoples of the Americas.

The benefits of the inter-American health and sanitation program will be available to millions of people in the other American republics. These people include workers in the Amazon forests and in the jungles of Central America; miners in the mineral-producing countries of the hemisphere; highway workers in Central America; workers on fiber and quinine plantations; workers on strategic defense bases. These workers in strategic projects receive immediate and direct benefits from the scores of

hospitals, health centers, sewage and water supply and other projects completed or underway.

But the indirect benefits extend much further. Let me digress to explain why. Most of Middle and South America lie in tropical and semi-tropical climate. These tropical areas include the immense Amazon basin, an area almost as large as the United States. In the tropical climates, with their heat, humidity and primitive jungles, disease always has been a primary problem, whether in economic development or in defense strategy. In tropical areas, the malaria-carrying mosquito is the deadliest foe of man. Malaria has taken countless lives in the tropics—and still takes a heavy toll. On Bataan Peninsula, in the Philippines, malaria did more than Japanese bullets to weaken our brave fighting men.

In the tropical Americas, as at Bataan, malaria saps the strength of men and kills many of those who become infected. Industrial enterprise in the tropics, therefore, first must reckon with health and sanitation measures to protect those who must work in humid and hot climates within reach of the malarial mosquito. This is the background of much of the health and sanitation work now being carried out on the basis of the Rio de Janeiro recommendations.

The tropical Americas hold some of the richest natural resources on earth, including supplies of rubber, fibers and other strategic materials formerly imported mainly from the tropical areas of the Far East. It was inevitable that wartime mobilization of hemisphere resources would center in large part within malaria-infected regions, such as the Amazon basin. So, in these tropical climates, the chief work is the malaria control. This work involves drainage operations for elimination of mosquito breeding places, spraying and oiling of stagnant pools, building of hospitals and health centers to care for the sick, distribution of anti-malarial drugs. All who come within radius of this work benefit from it, whether it be a rubber tapper or an inhabitant of a malaria-harassed community engaged in some other occupation. The mosquito makes no distinction between a rubber tapper and a citizen in some other line of work. In the tropics, where malaria abounds, everybody lives under the threat of infection. Thus, while tying directly into the development of economic resources, the malaria control projects spread their benefits far and wide.

This is characteristic of public health work. No favorite group of special privilege reaps the reward of public endeavor in the field. Poor or rich, all stand to benefit from improvement of public health conditions, whether it be control of malaria or the improvement of water supply. The airplane, the railway, the modern highway have increased the dangers of swift spread of disease, once it starts on an epidemic course.

This is true of malaria as of other diseases.

So the Good Neighbor spirit finds eloquent expression in such work as the campaign against malaria now being waged in the Amazon countries, Central America, Haiti. Along the Amazon River and its tributaries, there is being established a chain of hospitals, health centers and floating dispensaries. This chain of malaria control posts runs for more than 2,000 miles from Belem, near the mouth of the Amazon, far inland to the headwaters of the Amazon in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia. A unique fleet of floating dispensaries is in operation and is being expanded. These are motor launches, equipped with medical supplies and doctors, to reach remote sections of the Amazon country, far away from the few centers of population.

The work in Brazil affords a good illustration of the cooperative aspects of the inter-American program. Brazil has set up a special agency known as the *Servicio Especial de Saude Publica*. This agency is a channel for cooperation with the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, an agency of the Office of Inter-American Affairs. Assigned to Brazil by the Institute are forty United States doctors, sanitation engineers and other specialists. Brazilian specialists and technicians number more than four hundred, in addition to 2,500 other employees. Brazil contributes funds, along with materials, labor, equipment. Altogether these contributions make a cooperative undertaking on truly inter-American lines.

This is pretty much the pattern of the work in other countries. In Spanish speaking countries, most of the republics participating in the program have organized similar agencies known as a "*Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Salud Publica*." Where they are able financially, the participating countries contribute funds to supplement contributions of the United States. Their contributions also include supplies, land, labor. On the whole, this health program may justifiably be described as one of the highest expressions of inter-American cooperation, on a foundation of peaceful, friendly relations.

The results of this cooperation will endure long after the war. For instance, extensive training of doctors, engineers, professional and practical workers, nurses and sanitary inspectors is part of the work. These professional and technical workers are being prepared to take their places in the hospitals and the clinics rising in Central and South America. They will join the ranks of the hemisphere's growing forces of public health workers. The knowledge and the skill they acquire will be useful for many years to come. This training work will extend and strengthen public health traditions in the other Americas. It will contribute to the elevation of health standards. The increasing body of trained

public health workers is just as important as the construction of hospitals and health centers and modern sewage and water supply systems. The training projects are of two types. Under one method, physicians, nurses and engineers receive travel grants for training and observation in the United States or Latin American countries. Under the second method, training courses are given locally by the "*Servicio*" staffs in collaboration with local health departments or hospitals staffs.

Training of additional nurses is one of the most urgent aspects of the main program. This work includes the establishment of nursing schools, reorganization of existing nursing schools, provision of advanced and brush-up courses for practicing nurses. In various countries cooperating in the program, girl students are starting courses patterned after those of the leading nursing schools of the United States. The United States Public Health Service and the Pan American Sanitary Bureau are aiding in supplying teacher-nurses and helping to lay out courses of instruction. The project for bringing to the United States two Sisters from each of the other American republics for training under the auspices of the Catholic Association of Hospitals is part of the training activity.

Thus a broad program is under way to raise health standards in the other American republics. What this may mean for the future of the American peoples, especially in the tropics, is clear to anyone who has studied the basic importance of health work in these countries. Quite properly our sister republics to the south look to the United States for aid in this work. If we are to have genuine Good Neighbor relations as a basis for progress in the Western Hemisphere, it must proceed in an atmosphere of mutual aid. Mutual aid is the motivation of the inter-American health and sanitation program. The United States, in the spirit of mutual aid, contributes out of its great resources of medical knowledge and supplies to the advancement of hemisphere health standards.

I think I can best illustrate what mutual aid means in human terms by presenting the story of how inter-American cooperation functioned in checking a severe epidemic of malaria among the Indians of Colombia's Guajira peninsula. The malaria epidemic threatened a large part of the population, numbering more than 40,000. The Guajira peninsula juts into the Caribbean. Malaria usually is prevalent in varying degrees. Late in 1942, however, it increased to the proportions of a very severe epidemic. Drought during the years 1939-41 had forced a migration of population to wetter sections where malaria existed. Last year, with the arrival of heavy rains, a return flow of population set in. The returning migrants brought with them many cases of malaria. So malaria

increased until about 80 per cent of the inhabitants of the southern part of the peninsula were affected, with a mortality rate of 10 per cent.

Fortunately, it was possible through inter-American cooperation to take swift action. Colombia's Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Salud Publica, set up as a medium of cooperation in the inter-American health program, organized an emergency expedition. The expedition consisted of three doctors, a laboratory technician and two sanitary inspectors, directed by Dr. Alfredo Landinez, an eminent Colombian physician. The expedition carried diagnostic equipment, anti-malarial drugs and materials to control mosquito breeding. The Colombian ministry of war provided airplanes to move men and supplies to Uribia, center of the affected area. The United States military attache at Bogota managed to get a "jeep" for the expedition. The United States naval attache provided air transportation for Dr. John Bugher of the Rockefeller Foundation, and for members of Dr. Landinez' party. Atabrine was sent to the Indians in large quantities.

By latest accounts, these measures have been successful. The epidemic has been checked. The ground-work has been laid for prevention of another epidemic. Many lives have been saved.

This is only one incident in the inter-American battle against disease which is now being waged on many fronts. Besides malaria, the work includes campaigns against tuberculosis, typhus and other diseases. Anti-typhus vaccine is being sent by air transport into the Bolivian Altiplano to control typhus in the tin mining areas. The Institute of Inter-American Affairs is shipping 100 bottles of the vaccine weekly, enough to vaccinate 1,000 persons. Special disease problems are being tackled as part of the main program. This is illustrated in an effort to control onchocerciasis in Guatemala and southern Mexico. This is a worm disease which causes blindness. It is estimated 40,000 persons suffer from the disease in Guatemala. The Institute of Inter-American Affairs has allotted \$100,000 to the Pan American Sanitary Bureau to

further the work these countries are doing in controlling this disease.

The health and sanitation work is backed up by a food program, undertaken by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs in cooperation with other American republics. Disease and hunger are twin problems in many places. Better food supply is as essential as hospitals and drugs in protecting workers in the Amazon valley, for example. To become healthy, energetic soldiers of production, the workers in our sister republics producing strategic materials must have proper food. Food, consequently, has been linked with health to make what is known as the "Basic Economy" Division of the Coordinator's office. The same cooperative pattern which runs through the health and sanitation work applies to food projects in areas which need increased local production of food, either because they have lost outside supply sources or have increasing need of food in defense and strategic production projects. Like the health and sanitation work, the food program promises to bring lasting benefits in the improvement of living standards in the Americas.

Health and food are elemental human needs. They are just as elemental in peacetime as in war. The battle against disease and hunger is never-ending. Freedom from disease, freedom from want, are worthy goals of inter-American cooperation, now and for the long pull. When the war ends, doubtless much of the apparatus for arms production and military organization will be dismantled. But the apparatus of the inter-American battle against disease and hunger is essentially the apparatus of peace. Hospitals and training schools, doctors and nurses—these represent progress toward the human goals of peaceful, happy peoples. Through mutual aid, the Americas are learning how to multiply hospitals and training schools, doctors and nurses. Inter-American cooperation in this work is one of the best assurances that we will realize the better world for which we fight.

## Thailand, Home of the Siamese<sup>1</sup>

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### HISTORY

Thailand, prior to 1939 known as Siam, is one of the many Asiatic countries thrust into the foreground by World War II. The people of this nation

with a history dating back more than two thousand years have lived under four flags, the Chinese, French, British, and Siamese.

Like the people of many of the Oriental lands, the inhabitants of Thailand have gained a livelihood primarily from the soil. Agriculture has been the principal occupation. Through the years, the natural

<sup>1</sup> This is the fourth of a series of articles on the countries and peoples of Asia.



products of the forests and streams attracted European capital, traders, and colonists. It was the Portuguese who first enjoyed commercial privileges and trade with the natives of Thailand. Bitter rivalry between the English, Dutch, French, and Portuguese prompted the Siamese to terminate trade relations with European powers at the beginning of the eighteenth century. For more than one hundred and fifty years, Siam severed contacts with western civilization and by so doing became a fifth rate power characterized by the absence of efficiency, foresight, and progressiveness in industry, commerce, and agriculture.

During the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century, relations between Siam and the nations of Europe remained suspended. Trade relations were, however, maintained with China. Many Chinese settled within the country. Treaties made with Great Britain in 1826 and with the United States in 1833 failed to restore commerce. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did western traders again return to Siam. By this time the nation had become virtually isolated and at the mercy of the British now in control of Burma and the French in Indo-China.

The Japanese victory over Russia in the war of 1904-1905 had extensive repercussions in the Far East. Japan entered the Asiatic scene as a rival for the trade of Siam. This nation replaced Germany, in several respects, as the chief rival of France, and Great Britain in an area where economic discontent and abortive revolts were increasingly common.

France and England, long fearful of German intrigues which radiated in all directions, welcomed the decline in Germanic influence. By 1917, despite strong pro-German feeling within the army and navy, the government of Siam formally advised Berlin that ruthless submarine warfare was wholly disapproved. The German government's reply intimated that if Siamese ships were withdrawn from the high seas, complications from mistaken identity could be avoided. The outcome of the exchange of notes was a declaration of war. The position of the allies became immeasurably strengthened by Siam's entry into hostilities. The internment of German citizens and sympathizers, the shipment of food supplies to England, and the arrival of a Siamese expeditionary force in June, 1918, signified active participation. The declaration of war further permitted the withdrawal by France and England of large bodies of troops required to guard against German-sponsored revolts.

Actually, Siam gained very little from participation in the war. The nation suffered no devastation and had no casualties, for the expeditionary force arrived too late to be trained and placed in the front

lines. The cost of living did, however, rise considerably; and inflation, resulting from a shortage of goods, caused extensive economic dislocation.

The accession to the throne of Prajadhipok, while viewed by Europeans with a feeling of hope and relief, brought about the continuation of a nationalistic trend already begun within the nation. A coup d'état was engineered by various elements called the People's Party on June 24, 1932. This group seized the government palace and buildings but requested the king to remain as constitutional monarch. He consented, but the only prerogative retained was that of pardon.

The reorganization of the government appeared at first to solve many of the fundamental problems besetting the government. Serious mistakes in policy and tactics, however, resulted in one crisis after another, and a trend toward radicalism widened the breach between political groups. Conspiracy after conspiracy followed. Each revolt, while bloodless, only increased misunderstanding until on March 2, 1935 Prajadhipok announced in a letter to the people of his kingdom complete abdication and the intent to reside in England.

The retirement of Prajadhipok, who visited America several times, by no means clarified the internal political situation. Groups continued to struggle against one another for governmental control. By 1939 nationalism reached its peak in Siam.

Strict immigration laws, severe control of all Chinese, and the inauguration of stringent trade laws characteristic of such a policy were approved by the government almost without dissension. In June, 1939, the name of the country was changed from Siam to Thailand, and shortly thereafter encroachment was begun by the Japanese who now control the life of this nation.

#### CLIMATE AND TOPOGRAPHY

Thailand, bound by Burma, Indo-China, and the Malay States, occupies a land area of 200,000 square miles. It contains a network of four rivers, the Meping, Mewang, Meyom, and the Menam which provide communication between the northern and southern parts of the country.

Between Indo-China and Thailand, the Mekong River forms a boundary, but the country is separated from Burma by mountains through which there is only a limited number of passes. The coastline is dotted with small islands.

The inhabitants of Thailand may be divided into three general groups: those of the plains, forests, and mountains. Geographically, the southern portion of Thailand is covered with well-watered plains devoted primarily to agriculture. In the middle section, lumbering and cattle raising predominate in the pastures

and forests. In the northern mountainous section of the nation there are few inhabitants and production is confined principally to the necessities of life.

Climatically, Thailand may be divided into two zones; east and west. In the eastern portion of the country, the rainy or monsoon season begins in the latter part of August and lasts until February, while in the western section of the country the monsoon rains begin to fall near the end of April and continue to November. Rainfall on the eastern coast averages sixty-three inches a year, while the mountains along the Burma-Thailand frontier cut off much of the rain destined for the western and central sections of the country. May is the rainiest month throughout Thailand. During this month much of the normal activity of the people is halted or considerably reduced.

Rainfall, upon which the economic life of the country depends, is sufficient for the production of rice, the great staple product. An important factor in the marketing of rice is that although the rivers dry up rapidly at the conclusion of the rainy season so as to be unnavigable, the roads and bypaths are dried up sufficiently to permit the passage of carts and wagons.

The agriculturalists, whether tilling large or small holdings, cultivate their rice on the inundated plains. The principal draft animals are the water buffalo and the bullock, both of which admirably adopt themselves to the climatic and topographical features of the country.

One important alluvial plain is found within Thailand—that of the Menam River. This plain extends only ninety miles into the interior and about sixty miles to each side of the river bank. Within it, important rice fields are located. Forty-five miles inland from the sea, the Menam River is only twelve feet above sea level. Any large change in the water level of the river floods the entire plain thereby aiding the cultivation and production of rice.

#### AGRICULTURE

Rice is the principal crop of Thailand. It is the staple food of the country and main animal fodder. The national economy of this nation has been built around rice, and its annual production is in excess of five million tons a year. The land area, devoted to its production, is seven and one-half million acres.

The people of Thailand have adapted themselves to the natural conditions found in the country. On the level ground, which includes the plains of the country, rice is principally produced. In the plateaus and hills, live-stock raising is an important industry; many secondary crops, consisting largely of fruits and vegetables, are produced.

The commercial agriculture of the country is lo-

cated near large centers of population. It generally is characterized by lack of intensive farming, limited labor-saving devices, poor crop rotation, and relatively poor irrigation. The best agricultural producing lands are found in the central part of the country. The southern tip of Thailand contains much jungle. Because of the importance of mining and rubber in this area, agriculture has taken a secondary position. Another drawback to the development of agriculture in the far south has been under-population. As most of the farming in all sections of the country is accomplished by hand labor, the lack of workers has been a serious drawback in the south.

While the production of rice is in the hands of the natives, the export of rice is largely controlled by the Chinese. The importance of rice in the national economy of the nation can be readily seen when one considers that 70 per cent of the governmental revenue is obtained from the rice industry and three-quarters of the population likewise depends upon the rice industry for a livelihood. During recent years, one of the drawbacks in the rice trade has been the tendency of the middlemen to mix poor quality with good quality rice. The result of this practice has been intervention by government officials, although in other respects the national government of the country has done little for agriculture. Little action has been taken to improve the agricultural output and particularly the methods of marketing. Improvements, however, have been made by the adoption of standard weights and measures, standardization of market prices, and by the establishment of an agricultural research department.

Cotton, once an important stable crop during the early years of this nation, assumed a new importance in 1934. At that time the Japanese government became interested in the cotton production of the country, and since cotton is an important war commodity, the interest of the Nipponese government can readily be understood. Despite the encouragement by the Japanese government, farmers have been unable to develop a satisfactory cotton crop. The result has been that the Nipponese have started this industry on a small scale in other sections of the empire that they now control.

Tobacco has long been produced in Thailand but production has not been sufficient to meet demand. The crop is a staple in the mountain valleys in the northern section of the country, and approximately nine million pounds are harvested each year. Prior to the outbreak of World War II five million pounds of tobacco were imported each year to make up the national deficiency, and cigarettes from the United Kingdom constituted the bulk of these imports. Tobacco is a winter crop in Thailand, and therefore its cultivation does not interfere with the

production of the staple crop of Thailand which is rice.

Many vegetables commonly found in all the nations of the world such as beans, corn, cabbages, onions, and peas are produced in all sections primarily for home consumption. Despite favorable climatic conditions, little wheat, barley, or millet are produced. Although tea and coffee are cultivated, there is only a limited demand for these products.

#### INDUSTRY

Teakwood production has for years been one of Thailand's most important industries. Great forests of teak are found throughout the country. For centuries, the Lao princes of Siam derived most of their income from this industry although Chinese entrepreneurs actually marketed the product. Until the outbreak of World War II, teak was an important item of export to Europe.

In 1940 six European countries held the largest concessions in the teakwood industry. Four were British, one was Dutch, and one was French.

The logging of teakwood is under governmental supervision. The felling of the trees is accomplished during the rainy season so that upon striking the ground the wood does not splinter. Before trees are cut down, they are selected and marked. The bark of the tree is then removed from its base for a distance about two feet from the ground. Incisions are made in the base of the tree which causes it to dry and die usually within two years. When dried, the tree is cut down and sawed into lengths varying from fifteen to thirty feet.

The logs are then loaded upon narrow-gauge railroads in areas where the large foreign companies operate, and hauled to lumber mills. In those areas not reached by railroads, elephants drag the logs along wet graded highways to the rivers where the logs are floated downstream. During the rainy season, the streams of Thailand are clogged with logs of teakwood on their way to lumber mills. Each year fire and theft take a heavy toll of teakwood. In recent years the government has placed heavy penalties on persons caught stealing this wood.

By 1936 Thailand had become interested in the production of rubber. The development of rubber, sponsored by the Japanese who desired to be independent of British supplies, advanced rapidly. In 1943 Thailand's production was estimated to be 60,000 tons. While inferior in quality to the rubber produced in Malaya, the industry proved profitable and assumed a place equal in importance to the production of tin and the logging of teakwood. Much of this rubber is jungle-grown and while the marketing has been chiefly in the hands of the Chi-

nese, the Thais have done most of the tapping and draining of the trees.

The rubber industry in Thailand has been retarded largely because scientific methods have not been introduced and because climatic conditions are generally not as favorable as in Malaya, Sumatra, and Borneo. During the last three years the Japanese have requisitioned all rubber produced in the country although prior to the outbreak of war, a large proportion of this product went to Singapore for milling.

Within the country of Thailand are some of the most important tin mines of the world. Approximately two-thirds of the tin supply of the world is located along the Malay Peninsula. The largest deposits belonging to Thailand are found on the Island of Phuket.

Thailand does not, however, contain the great mineral resources found in other Asiatic countries. While the mining industry is not large or important, tin constitutes an important war commodity. Perhaps the major drawback toward industrialization has been a lack of fuel. Thailand contains little coal and no iron. Consequently it has had to depend upon wood for her major source of fuel. Waterpower is largely undeveloped. While oil has been located within the boundaries of the country, the deposits are believed limited.

#### CURRENT ORIENTATION

Japanese promises of liberation—originally a selling point in many Asiatic countries—have carried little weight with the people of Thailand whose independence, however flimsy and surreptitiously obtained, had been maintained for a hundred years.

For many years Thailand sought a way out of its political, social, and economic difficulties. As far back as 1932 plans were established to raise its economic status. In essence the people of the country hoped to adopt modern technological improvements to their industry and agriculture, to institute higher educational standards to decrease illiteracy, and to place its people in control of commerce, industry and agriculture.

On June 24, 1939, National Day, this country which had been known in the courts and countries of Europe and Asia as Siam, became officially known as Thailand. As "thai" means free, the new name literally was interpreted as "Land of the Free."

The Chinese problem, long a trying one, was not solved by the change of name. Many Thais interpreted the new policy as an approval to persecute the Chinese residents who were industrious and thrifty. These Chinese, numbering 1,500,000, dominated a large part of the commercial life of the country. They were now criticized, plagued, and



legislated against at every opportunity. Businesses, in which the Chinese residents engaged, were nationalized or made monopolies of the government of Thailand. The Chungking government, engaged in a life and death struggle with Japan, was unable to assist its citizens in this crisis.

One event led to another. Thailand's aggression finally resulted in a border dispute with its neighbor. French Indo-China, in 1940, and the short war was settled on March 11, 1941, under mediation by Japan. The terms of the agreement, all in favor of Thailand, ceded to the latter 21,750 square miles in Cambodia and Laos, the richest rice producing areas in the Orient. The terms further provided for the ceded territory to serve as a demilitarized zone through and about which French nationals and Indo-Chinese natives could move freely or conduct business.

During the critical period prior to the outbreak of war in the Far East, Japan constantly expended her control in a southerly direction. This nation seized every opportunity to exercise its influence over neighboring countries and in mid-summer 1941 moved into French Indo-China when the latter, without the support of the mother country, capitulated without fighting. The military forces of Indo-China depleted from the short but sanguinary war with Thailand lacked the troops, munitions, and modern weapons effectively to check the sons of Nippon.

Japan, established in French Indo-China, now occupied a favorable position for the extension of military and naval operations against the Malaya Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. Anti-foreignism was encouraged and sponsored and penetration into Thailand began. The acquirement of an economic interest in various aspects of the commercial life of the people of Thailand began the series of events which culminated in seizure of the country on December 8, 1941.

Before the outbreak of war, an oil refinery, as well as small naval vessels and implements of war, were built at Bangkok, the capital of the nation. As Japanese capital provided employment and improved economic conditions, collaboration was maintained.

The rank and file of the country did not willingly approve the policy of the national government, but the situation was beyond their control. When the Japanese struck with military force against Thailand, the army resisted for an hour; the government then capitulated. Premier Tuang Pibul Songgram's policy of collaboration with the Japanese proved to be the downfall of Thailand.

When the Nipponese moved into Thailand late in 1941, they seized business houses, banks, and mission schools. Naval authorities took over control of the port at Bangkok and requisitioned 280,000 teak-

wood logs without reimbursing their owners. Vigorous protests to Tokyo by Bangkok officials resulted in a more conciliatory attitude. Recognizing the key position occupied by the country and the necessity for cooperation, the Japanese withdrew from those situations involving the infringement of Thailand's sovereignty.

The Japanese troops, however, retained control of three important foreign firms; the East Asiatic Company, the International Engineering Company, and the Borneo Company. But no longer did they dump Japanese goods on Thailand's markets or move in articles without paying duty on them.

One economist of Thailand, Phra Sarasas, informed the Japanese Economic Federation in Tokyo that his country was entitled to special consideration in the new "greater East Asia" order; for having independence and occupying a key strategic position, it contributed materially in several respects to strengthening the Nipponese position. Sarasas' suggestion has been carried out in many respects. Thailand has not been molested and systematically looted as have other countries within the Japanese sphere of influence.

World War II has not brought the degree of devastation to Thailand that China, Holland, England, France, and Russia have encountered. The larger centers, such as Bangkok with port and refinery facilities, have been bombed as have the communication networks, such as railroads and highways. The average citizen of this country finds life more complex, but he has not been drafted into the army, and he has not encountered a complex rationing system.

Food is plentiful and fish and vegetables can be obtained without difficulty. Prices are higher. While rice, the great staple food of the Orient, is available, it is more expensive than in pre-war years. Because of the Japanese demand for the rubber, tin, and rice, Thailand has enjoyed prosperity.

Japan has taken the opportunity on several occasions to improve Thailand-Japanese relations. The Tokyo government, for example, sent six thousand tons of supplies to alleviate the suffering in Central Thailand when floods destroyed a considerable portion of the Thailand rice crop. Another example of Tokyo's pacification policy occurred when Premier Tojo presented Kengtung and Mong Pan, two small provinces, to Thailand.

In a world involved in the most destructive and costly war of all time, the position of Thailand is obscure. As operations develop in the Far East and as the United Nations march forward to victory in the Orient, it becomes increasingly evident that the national government of Thailand must declare its position. Upon that decision rests the fate of a nation of 15,000,000 people.

# Visual and Other Aids

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Many teachers who have been making effective use of films, pamphlets, posters and other visual aids neglect audio aids which may be of equal usefulness. For example, there are many excellent radio programs of educational significance.

Teachers as a rule do not make use of these programs because of the organizational difficulties involved. Programs which are broadcast during the school day usually do not come at an hour when it is possible to use them in the desired classes, or if this is not so, the teacher is likely to be stymied by lack of a classroom radio or central radio-sound system. It is true, of course, that evening or weekend programs may be assigned in lieu of the usual homework. But even in this case, many pupils find it difficult to listen because the assigned program conflicts with mother's favorite soap opera, dad's favorite mystery, or big brother's favorite sportscast.

The dilemma posed above can be resolved through the use of program recordings. Fortunately, recordings of a great many educational radio programs are now available for sale or loan to schools and the supply is increasing steadily.

There are two general types of records in use. One is the ordinary ten- or twelve-inch phonograph record which rotates at 78 revolutions a minute. Another is the sixteen-inch radio recording or "transcription" which rotates at  $33\frac{1}{3}$  r.p.m. Each type has its advantages and disadvantages. It is possible to record a thirty-minute program on a single disk of the sixteen-inch size, whereas it requires three twelve-inch records to record a program of equal length. Thus, the amount of turning and changing required during the playing of a program is much less when the sixteen-inch records are used. On the other hand, the smaller records have an advantage in that they can be used with an ordinary phonograph whereas the larger disks can be played only on a specially made record player.

Most schools now have phonographs for playing ten- or twelve-inch records. These phonographs are usually in the possession of the music or English departments, or hidden away in a closet or the basement. Social studies teachers can often make some sort of arrangement with these departments for the use of a phonograph or with the school janitor to discover a phonograph that is hidden away. Most larger schools also have the special playback equipment needed for sixteen-inch records and it seems likely

that the time will come when such equipment will be considered as necessary as the 16 mm. motion picture projector. It is also probable that an increasing number of schools will own instantaneous recording equipment so that teachers can make their own recordings of radio programs.

Although a record is perhaps not such an effective teaching aid for most purposes as the sound motion picture, it offers the advantage of lower cost. A sixteen-inch radio recording may be purchased at prices ranging from \$3.50 to a little over \$5, and three smaller records which offer equivalent playing time at a dollar or so more. If carefully used, recordings will last for several years. On the other hand, a sound motion picture of thirty-minutes playing time generally costs a hundred dollars or so. The school of limited means can afford to acquire a recording library of its own, even though it can do little in the way of purchasing films. And as a rule, recordings can be rented at smaller cost than films.

Recordings, like films, may be used in a variety of ways. They may be used to initiate a unit of work, or they may be used during or at the close of a unit. Like films, recordings should usually be preceded by an introductory discussion. The introductory discussion (which might consume a period or more of time) can perhaps best be utilized as an opportunity for clarifying those beliefs and attitudes of the pupils to which the recording will relate and for helping them see that more information is needed in order for them to evaluate their beliefs and attitudes more intelligently. This is but another way of saying that the teacher should make certain that the content of recordings, like other teaching materials, relates to the active concerns and interests of the pupils. Again like films, the playing of a recording should always include a follow-up discussion. After the follow-up, it may be desirable to play the recording again—perhaps several times.

Many state film libraries are now building libraries of educational recordings. These recordings may be borrowed free of charge by schools. Probably the largest recording library from which disks may be purchased or rented is the Recordings Division of the New York University Film Library, located at Washington Square, New York 3, N.Y. This organization has recordings of such popular radio series as the University of Chicago Round Table and Cavalcade of America. It also has a number of edu-

cational recordings produced especially for transcription. A catalogue is available upon request.

#### NEWS NOTES

The American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois, has compiled a number of book lists which should be of interest to social studies teachers. They have lists dealing with the war, foreign countries, intercultural education, and a variety of other social studies topics. Most of the lists may be obtained for something like twenty-five cents each. Teachers should write to the Association for a complete list of titles.

Teachers of geography and other social studies will be interested to know of a new teaching aid called *Travel Letters*. The information for these letters is furnished by men and women who were educated in the United States but who now live in the countries from which they write. This material is then edited into letters which are addressed to the pupils and signed by fictitious characters who live in the land from which the letter is supposed to have been sent. There is a Latin American, North American and Oriental series designed for children from the fifth through the seventh grades and a World Children series for use by the third and fourth grades. Each series contains thirty-two letters, one of which is mailed each week. The cost is from sixty-five to seventy cents per subscription per year. With each order of *Travel Letters* an activity booklet is furnished free of charge to the teacher. Further information and sample letters may be obtained by writing to Travel Letters, Delaware, Ohio.

The Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York, is offering special groupings of Public Affairs Pamphlets at reduced prices. For example, they offer five copies each of a group of twelve pamphlets on the topic of post-war planning for five dollars, a saving of one dollar. They also have a combination offer which includes seven pamphlets dealing with the problem of race relations, a filmstrip entitled *We Are All Brothers*, a dramatization for student production based upon the material in the booklet *Races of Mankind*, and eight posters made from illustrations which appear in the same booklet. This combination can be purchased for three dollars.

The Ideal Pictures Corporation, 28-34 East 8th Street, Chicago 5, Illinois, is one of the largest distributors of 16 mm. films in existence. The year 1945 marks their twenty-fifth year in business. Ideal's Silver Anniversary catalogue is available to teachers who request it. The company has a wide selection of films on current event subjects, geography and travel, foreign nations, history, and human relations.

An interesting new film entitled *A Man and His Job* has been produced by the National Film Board of Canada. The film tells the story of a Canadian factory worker, Joe Martin, and his experiences with unemployment before and after the passage of the Canadian unemployment insurance plan. The film also gives mention to national housing projects and other security measures. The film is on 16 mm. sound film and runs for eighteen minutes. It may be secured from Brandon Films, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

## News and Comment

MORRIS WOLF

Head, Social Studies Department, Girard College, Philadelphia

#### DEMOCRACY IN THE CLASSROOM

Someone remarked that it is a miracle that children can live through the monarchical set up of the classrooms and emerge as adult democratic citizens. Does the average school aid or does it actually handicap the development of democratic citizens? This thought disturbed James Marshall, distinguished member of New York City's Board of Education, who examined it in the light of existing world conditions, in an essay on "Wars Are Made in Classrooms," the leading article in *The Saturday Review of Literature* for November 11.

Teachers may be jolly and friendly and permit considerable free discussion, yet the atmosphere of

their classrooms may be authoritarian. The class knows that the teacher is right, the textbook is right, and neither is to be gainsaid. Too often, still, classrooms are run in ways which cultivate "defiance, subservience, or retaliation" rather than self-reliance and interdependence, the indispensable hallmarks of the democratic spirit.

Democracy . . . is an attitude towards and a habit of dealing with them equally, though not necessarily identically. The creation of attitudes and habits is the principal function of the classroom. The stimulation of democratic attitudes and the development of democratic habits should be the principal functions of the class-



rooms of nations aspiring to democracy. . . . The teacher must take an attitude more as an equal of the pupils, respectful of them and ready to share skills and knowledge. . . .

It is true now for the world at large, as we know it to be true for the nation itself, that backwardness in education in one part will affect adversely all the parts. It is particularly patent to us that in the aggressive nations education provided the popular attitudes necessary to support the policies of aggression.

The peace of the world requires universal standards of education designed to cultivate among all peoples attitudes that are cooperative and not aggressive, creative and not destructive. Mr. Marshall therefore pleads for an International Office of Education. Without it, peace cannot permanently be assured. It is the indispensable agency for establishing everywhere schools that will foster attitudes of peace and good will and neighborliness.

#### POSTWAR JOBS AND SCHOOLING

The nearer the peace the more aghast we are at the complicated problems to be faced. The last war, we now see, bequeathed simpler ones. The war itself was shorter and it put fewer of our people into uniform and into war industries. When peace comes what shall we do with the eleven millions in the armed forces and the twenty millions engaged in war work?

Suggestions are offered in ten articles by leaders, in the October issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*. The chairman of the Committee for Economic Development tells how business is outlining a program to create up to ten million new peacetime jobs. The Administrator of Veterans Affairs explains what the law offers returning veterans who desire education, while others relate what colleges and public schools are planning. In the last war only one-fifth of those in the armed forces of the United States had gone beyond the elementary school while two-thirds of those under arms today have been to high school or beyond. The education problem for veterans promises to be a pretty serious one.

Other phases of the problem are discussed: What about handicapped workers? What can the Church do to help the nation make the transition? What actually is being planned in states and local communities?

#### ECONOMIC PREPARATIONS FOR PEACE

A. G. Mezerik, industrial consultant and social historian, has traveled thousands of miles up and down this land to learn at first hand what the people are thinking and planning and doing against the day of peace. Beginning in the issue of *The New Republic* for November 13, Mr. Mezerik relates what

he learned from his "Journey in America." His opening articles deal with the South; later in the series he presents the picture in other regions.

In some places he found much being done to prepare for peace at home, while in others little thought is being given to the matter. His descriptions are specific sketches of a major problem whose solution after all will require specific answers in unnumbered localities. Although he was concerned mainly with economic problems and solutions, Mr. Mezerik threw light upon the wider socio-economic set-up in the various regions.

His articles of November 13 and 20 showed Georgia and Alabama as victims of giant corporations and absentee, often Northern, ownership. The fear of change on the part of such companies with their hardened dividend-arteries places tremendous obstacles in the path of postwar planners. To add to the troubles of the Southerners is the fact that they are hog-tied by a freight-rate structure that strangles them when competing with the North and at the same time boosts their costs of living, although their wage rates are among the lowest in the nation.

The entire series, a commentary by a trained observer on economic America in a transition era, promises to be highly enlightening.

#### PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

Last month comment was made here upon the issue of peacetime compulsory military training for our youth. The matter, readers will recall, was discussed pro and con in *Educational Leadership* for October. The Executive Committee of the Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development, N. E. A., there voiced its opposition to the legal prescription of such peacetime service while we are under the excitements of war. Joy Elmer Morgan, editor of *The Journal* of the National Education Association, also takes a position opposing such prescription at this time. His editorial in the November issue of *The Journal* is a preface to the pro and con discussion of "The Case for Peacetime Conscription" which follows his statement. The four-page debate, prepared by the Civic Education Service of Washington (D.C.), is an able résumé of the arguments usually advanced by both sides.

Taking a page each, in *The Nation's Schools* for November, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and Professor Henry C. Morrison respectively say "Yes" and "No" to the question, "Should Universal Military Training Be Made Obligatory?" Professor Morrison's statement is one of the most powerful yet made. By using German experience after 1814 he shows how militarism evolves from such training of generations of a nation's youth. Yet the training did not assure Germany either peace or security nor

did it guarantee her victory in war. Our democracy may be undermined if each year, for many years, we inject into the body politic a large number of young citizens trained and indoctrinated by professional military staffs.

It has been suggested that in the postwar era such service be required of youth who leave school for one reason or another before they are eighteen years of age and are too young to find employment. This partial answer to the question "Should We Have Compulsory Military Service for All Youth?" is offered by Thomas Dimond, professor of vocational education, University of Michigan (*School and Society* for November 11). For such youth a year of military training could supply valuable experience in the critical year before employment. Professor Dimond described the favorable responses he received to a poll of college teachers on the question of compulsory military training.

#### CARTELS

An informative study of the "Role of Cartels in Modern Economy," by Grant S. McClellan, a research associate of the Foreign Policy Association, appeared in *Foreign Policy Reports* for October 15. The presentation, far too difficult for high school youth, will greatly aid teachers of economic problems.

Opposition in this country to cartels, or trusts as many Americans label them, is not shared as a rule in the industrial nations of Europe. Strange to say the opposition to restrictions on free competition by private business combinations which control the volume of production, the prices set on goods, and their distribution in the markets, is not extended to restrictions from other sources. The protective tariff, for instance, has restrictive consequences for competition. So have other government actions, notably commodity agreements which impose limitations upon the production of such basic commodities as coffee and tea, sugar and wheat, rubber and tin and thereby fix prices. Our own government, in fact, in order to aid farmers, has for some years now imposed controls upon agricultural production.

Cartelization, usually by industrial combinations, is an historical phenomenon resulting inevitably from economic conditions of at least the last half-century. It is not the result merely of the machinations of evil men, as seems to be implied by many who talk about the problem with more emotional heat than intellectual light. Usually they assume that private controls injure the public welfare while government controls do not. The problem is not so simple as that. They overlook the fact that there is an identity of function between the accepted commodity agreements of governments and the feared

industrial cartels of private business, namely the control of production and distribution.

So far, three types of cartels have emerged: the cartel association, the combine (like I. G. Farben), and the patent licensing agreement. There is no legal definition of the cartel in this country and the cartel lacks legal status in international law, but Mr. McClellan's historical survey shows the nature of the device. It arose out of economic conditions which encouraged monopoly control particularly in the raw materials and key industries like steel and in certain specialized industries such as the chemical and the electrical. Among these conditions were the patent system, the presence of relatively few producers in the field, and the necessity of protecting heavy fixed capital investments against the risks of price competition. The trend toward monopoly was hastened by other factors, among them plant specialization, technical skills, and the enactment of wage and social security laws. Our large-scale industries with huge capitalization, and much less flexible than the smaller concerns of the single entrepreneurs of old, apparently have destroyed the free competitive system of a century ago. The cartel is a symptom of an economic revolution.

Mr. McClellan presented the pro and con arguments on cartels and sketched the world-trade position of the United States in view of existing and potential cartels sanctioned by other nations. Although the outlook is quite confused in what is evidently a transition era, he suggests a few steps to take that may help to safeguard the economy of this country. An excellent bibliography is supplied.

A fine supplement to this study is Milo Perkins' article in *Harper's Magazine* for November on "Cartels: What Shall We Do About Them?" The former director of the Board of Economic Warfare describes the cartel system of Europe, shows how it does and will affect the United States, and suggests how we might meet its challenge to our system of enterprise.

#### PEACE WITH GERMANY

A favorite topic of discussion nowadays is "What Kind of Peace with Germany?" Suggestions cover a vast range. At one extreme are those for destroying Germany industrially and for splitting her up as a state. At the other are those that recommend dealing with her as a nation whose strength and industry are indispensable to European welfare, once she is purged of nazism and militarism and is aided to develop democracy.

The nations that have felt Hitler's heel also have ideas about what to do with a defeated Germany. These ideas are placed on view by Winifred N. Hadsel, a research associate of the Foreign Policy Association, in the November 15 issue of *Foreign*

*Policy Reports.* The victims of Hitler favor a "hard" peace, doubting that the Nazis are distinguishable from Germans. Only by such a peace can German aggression be destroyed and Europe feel secure. But their spokesmen doubt the wisdom of destroying German heavy industry and her military potential which rests upon it, for many European nations need German products. They do want peace terms, however, which will deprive Germany of "potential military and economic supremacy on the continent."

Miss Hadsel summarized the views of Europeans regarding the military occupation of Germany, the re-making of the German map, reparations and damages to be exacted, the extent to which de-industrialization should be carried out, the punishment of war criminals and the problem of reforming the German people. In conclusion, there is a brief review of the problems of, and plans for federation among European states.

#### HOUSING

To meet our housing problem it is said that we shall have to build about a million and a half new dwellings during each one of the ten years following the war, at a total cost of some eight billion dollars. Never has the nation needed such a volume of residential construction. If we desire "the quality of living environment that our expanding productive resources will warrant," we shall not be able to stop building and rebuilding after those ten years but shall have to go on. Housing is not only a great economic problem but it ramifies into technology, politics, and sociology.

Such is the introductory thought of Guy Greer's able article on "Housing: The Why of Planning," in *Fortune* for November, the sixth and last of a series that began in May, 1943. Mr. Greer is convinced that the problem is too big for business to handle alone and that government and business must tackle it together. Too many families now lack and after the war will lack the income necessary to provide themselves with good housing, a costly commodity when compared with other necessities. It is easy to say that, assuming adequate planning and zoning controls, the housing problem can be solved by raising incomes and lowering housing costs. But who knows, to the satisfaction of the rest of us, how to do that?

The American home is usually a house and not a flat or apartment. It was not built for rental, as a rule, but for home ownership, although too frequently it was lost later by the owner. The problem is everywhere enhanced by the spreading cancer of the slums, itself a problem which many people mistakenly confuse with that of supplying low-cost, decent housing for rental. Mr. Greer confined his analysis to this problem of reducing housing costs.

According to the 1940 census there are in the nation about twenty-two million dwelling-units (including flats and apartments) in cities, another seven million in villages, and eight million on farms. About ten million or one-third of the non-farm dwellings are substandard, lacking proper water and toilet facilities and essential repairs. More than six and a half million of the farm dwellings also are substandard. Perhaps a quarter of the substandard dwellings are so delapidated that they should be torn down; others soon will be as bad; and the remainder need major repairs and improvements. About half of the non-farm dwellings are not lived in by the owners and it is in these places that most of the problem lies.

The government's recent war-housing projects have been changing the picture. In additions to a million and three-quarters of housing units the government has provided a yardstick of experience in planning, design and construction, and low-cost living in many parts of the country. Some think of public housing merely as a wartime measure. They object to it in peacetime and favor rent relief for low-income families unable otherwise to pay for adequate housing. But advocates of public housing insist that the problem is different from that of food and clothing. For the social consequences of bad housing permeate the entire community. The general welfare itself requires community action on housing, even to the point of public ownership and rental of dwellings. Rent relief, like all mere relief, tends to pauperize families without at all assuring them of decent dwellings. Public housing, subsidized from the public treasury if necessary, can make adequate housing available to low-income families. Under an act of Congress in 1937 such public housing was tried on a restricted basis for seven years.

Mr. Greer took up the objections of real-estate interests to public housing. He believes this country needs both private and public housing to solve its problem. In line with this discussion one should see *Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 96* (1944), "Houses for Tomorrow," by T. R. Carskadon. It is a 32-page study based on *American Housing Problems and Prospects* which was published in 1944 by the Twentieth Century Fund. (The Public Affairs Committee is located at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, 20. Its pamphlets are generally ten cents each.)

#### COAL

Do your pupils know that half the coal supplies of the world are in the United States? That coal has more different uses than any other natural resources? That reference to some kind of coal occurs in the Bible and that the ancient Greeks and Romans knew that mineral coal would burn? These and many other



interesting questions are answered in Raymond E. Janssen's article on "Ol' King Coal," in *Natural History* for November.

Professor Janssen, in brief space, sets forth the wide reach of coal uses, the origins of the mineral, the history of coal as a fuel, and the methods for mining it from medieval days to the present. His description of the various methods will be revealing to high school classes. The many excellent pictures add greatly to a highly informative account.

#### CONSERVATION

Vernon Carter, in *The Journal* of the National Education Association for November, presents an excellent set of "Guideposts to Teaching Conservation," packed with usable material. Teachers will want to keep his two-page outline. The ten goals headlined in his analysis of the problem are:

1. To teach the history of natural resources depletion.
2. To destroy the ideology of American's inexhaustibility.
3. To teach the interrelation of people, other animals, plants, and earth.
4. To present the idea of stewardship of natural resources.
5. To clarify the rights of society as they conflict with the desire of the individual to exploit.
6. To examine the claim that the world market can supply us when our own resources are exhausted.
7. To study the relation of science to conservation.
8. To examine local resources in relation to community living standards.
9. To familiarize pupils with the conservation work being done.
10. To guide the growth of a pupil philosophy of conservation.

#### FOR THE TEACHER

The second in the series of presidential statements on foreign policy, running in *Current History* and referred to here last month, appeared in the November issue. It covers the era of "Manifest Destiny" and quotes from the inaugural addresses and annual messages of nine Presidents from Jackson to Buchanan. In them the policy of avoiding permanent or entangling alliances appears to have become firmly established.

Two other articles in the November *Current History* will be useful to teachers of history. Professor Alzada Comstock summarizes England's economic plans for the days ahead in "Britain's Postwar Plans," and Professor Ernest J. Knapton contrasts the political

problems which confronted the early third and now perhaps dawning fourth French republics in "France: 1871 and 1944."

Hazel Kyrk, professor of home economics and economics at the University of Chicago, makes some provocative observations about economics and consumer education in the November number of *The School Review*. Her article displays unusual insight into "Consumer Education for Nonspecialized Students: Its Relation to Economic Education" and supplies concepts for re-valuing one's work with high-school youth in this field.

In line with the increased concern about the role of the school in the community, *The School Executive* in November devoted its lengthy section on Educational Planning to "The Community Program." The various articles suggested the principles for organizing such programs, related what is actually being done by schools in various communities, and discussed the fruitful roles that schools can fill as community leaders.

Teachers will not want to miss the November number of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science which deals with "Adolescents in Wartime." The twenty authoritative articles treat many phases of the subject: The social and family setting—including the war background, working parents, and sex behavior; the employment problem—including child labor in country and town and school-work programs; adolescent health and hygiene; and youth and recreation, religion, and government. Three introductory articles provide the sociological setting for the entire study. Since March, 1943, Philadelphia's Junior Town Meeting of the Air has been broadcast from school auditoriums by high-school youth. Inspired by the famous Town Meeting of the Air, these broadcasts have been making valuable contributions to the education of youth. Other communities may be thinking about using the radio similarly in their own schools. An account of the work and workings of the Philadelphia Junior Town Meeting is given by Associate Superintendent of Schools Edwin W. Adams, in "Youth Points the Way," in *The Journal* of the National Education Association for November.

In the same issue, H. C. Dent, the editor of *The Times Educational Supplement* (London) describes "Britain's New Education Act." The law revolutionizing British public education went into effect on August 3, 1944. In this one-page summary by a distinguished British leader American teachers have an excellent outline of what England expects to do.

A constitution for a United Nations Office for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction has drawn up and programs are being prepared for using education to foster democratic institutions throughout

Europe. V. T. Thayer shows definitely what is afoot in his article on "Educational Reconstruction" in *Survey Graphic* for November.

"A Student Council Grows in Responsibility," in *The Clearing House* for November, is a concrete account of the growth of the student council of West-

ern State High School, Kalamazoo (Michigan). Pearl L. Ford and Roy C. Bryan—teacher and principal—give its history and describe its workings in detail. Other schools will find Western State's experiences helpful.

## Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by RICHARD H. McFEELY

*The George School, George School, Pennsylvania*

*A History of Latin American for Schools.* By Samuel Guy Inman and C. S. Castañeda. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. xii, 442. \$2.20.

One of the big drawbacks to the successful inclusion of a Latin American unit in the high school social studies program has been the lack of an adequate textbook. In these days of the Good Neighbor policy the want has been particularly felt, but now Doctors Inman and Castañeda have supplied a really usable book. It is not, as its name implies, strictly a history, but rather, a general survey of Latin American affairs from a historical point of view. Divided into four parts it includes a Preview, the Background, the International Life, and the Expression of a Continent.

In the first section the authors prepare the student for more detailed work by pointing out the reasons for studying Latin America. They discuss some of its geography, racial tendencies, problems, social advances, and its geopolitical importance to the non-American powers. It is a sweeping survey and is perhaps more valuable to one who is somewhat familiar with the material than to the student who is just beginning.

The historical background is presented in the traditional manner, i.e., a survey of original Indian civilizations followed by the story of the conquest, an account of the colonial period and the various independence movements, and finally, a country by country treatment of the development of the twenty independent republics which now comprise the Latin membership of the Pan American Union. From the point of view of a historian this section is a bit skimpy, but in consideration of its relation to the whole book, it is adequate. It might have been desirable, however, to have emphasized in somewhat greater detail the conquest and the importance of Spanish colonial rule on the later development of nineteen of the countries. This could have been compensated for by a slightly less complete political history of some of the smaller states.

The third section considers the place of Latin America in world life in respect to cultural as well as economical and international relations. The development of the Pan American system and the part the United States played in it is presented with considerable lively detail. Also discussed are the economic and cultural difficulties that must be resolved if the system is to grow and not to slip back to the old triangular arrangement of Europe-Latin American-United States with little activity flowing along the north-south side of the triangle.

The final chapters will no doubt be a novelty to most teachers of social studies but they should comprise an integral part of every program that is seriously trying to develop a better understanding of Latin America. "The literature of Latin America is her glory" (p. 354), but even the educated *norteamericano* who knows anything of this literature is a rarity. To make matters worse, the Latin American writer, artist, or philosopher holds a much more esteemed position in his native land than does a comparable figure in this country; hence his works assume even greater importance. Doctors Inman and Castañeda have, therefore, drawn examples from the writings of the more famous authors, have annotated them, and have included biographical material in this valuable section of the book.

Various teaching aids such as "Learning through Discussion," "Learning through Maps," and "Projects and Problems," worked out at the end of each chapter should prove helpful not only for review but for broader consideration of the subject since they often include material which is to be found only in the appended book lists. These lists will at one and the same time be a help and source of confusion to the teacher who does not have a wide background in the field. They are ample in their coverage, but, indicative of the lack of general materials available at the high school level, they include much that will be too difficult for the average student and some that is too fictionalized to give an accurate picture.

An excellent appendix containing a chronology

and the whereabouts of much valuable source material, and a quite complete self-pronouncing index add to the usefulness of the book. A more liberal use of up-to-date photographs, even at the cost of leaving out some of the text, would in this reviewer's opinion have done much to help dispel ignorance concerning our southern neighbors.

The book is written from a thoroughly idealistic point of view and in these days of "realistic" politics it is refreshing, but the teacher using this text would do well to point out continually that Latin American relations with the United States is not, as one eminent Latin American has put it, a problem that can be solved once and for all; rather, it is a program that must be continually worked at. There are wide differences between us in small, material ways and if the student is not prepared for these, subsequent travel or business in Latin America may blind him to the more important, mutually shared convictions, that Doctors Inman and Castañeda have made the underlying theme of this fine book.

CLEMENT G. MOTTEN

University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

*The Economics of Demobilization.* By E. Jay Howenstein, Jr. Washington, D.C.: The Public Affairs Press, 1944. Pp. 336. \$3.75.

The core of this volume is a study of the economic effects of the end of World War I, to which has been added introductory and concluding chapters linking it to the present situation. The author presents each portion of the problem in a short, unified chapter, including his own clear and sound commentaries. He unfolds a devastating picture of unpreparedness for peace in 1918, of muddled thinking, vacillating, conflicting government action. The belief is expressed that we are in much better shape to meet the same problems this time, especially because of our greater understanding of them, and because of our keener awareness of the necessity of control. The political atmosphere has changed, he states, in favor of social measures of prevention and cure which were impossible in 1918.

It is quite evident that Mr. Howenstein has thought out the situation of a quarter of a century ago much more thoroughly than that of today. His last chapter, entitled "Blueprint for Demobilization," compared unfavorably with many other discussions of the same question. It is possible that mistakes just as unfortunate are being made today as twenty-six years ago. The terrible situation in conquered Italy, due to poor planning by the Allied conquerors, may be a pre-indictment of our entire demobilization policy. We need his careful critique of our former failure, but we also need a ringing

challenge that the catastrophic post war slump shall not take place, and some clear ideas concerning the method of achieving such a goal.

EDGAR Z. PALMER

University of Kentucky  
Lexington, Kentucky

*The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell.* Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1944. Pp. xvi, 815. \$4.00.

Twenty-one scholars are gathered around the life-work of Bertrand Russell. One of them resides in Scotland, all others are connected with institutions in the United States. Among the three collaborators who formerly belonged to the German-speaking part of the scientific world there is Albert Einstein, whose paper appears in the original German with a page-by-page translation by the editor. Contrary to what a layman might expect, his contribution is perhaps the most lucid of the entire collection.

One article deals with the unity of Russell's philosophy; the others focus on particular aspects of this imposing edifice. The result is a panorama that hardly omits any side of philosophy, except aesthetics. About those branches of philosophy to which Russell has given less rigorous attention one contributor remarks, . . . "relative neglect by a Russell amounts to more than the life-work of many a man."

The idea underlying "The Library of Living Philosophers" is that the contributors stress points which call for clarification or provoke their criticism. The philosopher in question is to reply and thereby to help stop at least "certain of the grosser and more general kinds of misinterpretation." Russell's "Reply to Criticisms" is short. The reason for it is not apt to strengthen our trust in philosophic endeavors. "In conversation with the editor, Mr. Russell intimated that his greatest surprise, in the reading of the twenty-one contributed essays, had come from the discovery that 'over half of their authors had not understood' him [i.e., Russell]. This fact amazed Mr. Russell all the more because he always thought that he had been making every effort to write clearly and to express his ideas in the briefest possible and most direct way. In other words, Mr. Russell undoubtedly felt that—not having succeeded in making his ideas clear in the first place by his numerous and varied writings—it was hopeless to expect any better understanding for a renewed attempt in his 'Reply', and therefore useless to waste words on anything more than seemed absolutely called for." And this has happened to a philosopher whose lucidity is among the most unanimously praised qualities of his work!

The social studies teacher will be especially interested in the essays on Russell's philosophical views



of history, politics, economics, sociology, ethics, education, and religion; but he is in for disappointment if he expects from this eminent logician and mathematician a transfer of his faultless methods into these highly controversial fields and, resulting from it, some indisputable foundations for exact social sciences. Russell, the philosopher, confronted with these disciplines, finds his possibilities very much restricted. He would "like to exclude all value judgments from philosophy, except that this would be too violent a breach with usage," and value judgments are, of course, at the bottom of a great many controversies in the social sciences. For him, value judgments are nothing but expressed desires, and though it is reasonable to desire that other people have or get desires conforming to one's own and to exert his influence accordingly through education and by other means; it is quite senseless to argue with people about the legitimacy of their different desires as long as they cherish them.

Some critics are astonished to find a man with such views passionately taking sides in practical issues; they would look for him in the proverbial ivory tower. But Russell vigorously claims consistency: "I am quite at a loss to understand why any one should be surprised at my expressing vehement ethical judgments. By my own theory, I am, in doing so, expressing vehement desires as to the desires of mankind; I feel such desires, so why not express them?" It is the concerned citizen and practical reformer, who acts this way, not the philosopher, and Russell thinks that people would gain considerably in understanding of his writings aimed at practical criticism and reform if they could forget that it so happens that the same man has also worked in the fields of logic and mathematics.

Two other points of general importance, raised against Russell, concern his views about the relationships between science and progress and between the individual and society. Russell insists that science in itself is no guarantee for progress since it can serve as a tool for good or evil purposes. When he is blamed for assigning in his hierarchy of ultimate values a higher rank to the individual than to society he points at the fact that this is a matter of value judgments, about which there is no use arguing.

In view of the role which socialism is certain to play in the discussions and experiments of the reconstruction era, one regrets that Russell does not reply to the precise questions which V. J. McGill asks him about his interpretations of Marxism.

The volume opens with "My Mental Development" by Russell and closes with a complete bibliography of his writings, followed by an index. The philosopher ends his mental autobiography in this

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HENRY BLAUTH

The George School  
George School, Pennsylvania

*The Chemical Industry.* By Josephine Perry. New York: Longmans Green and Company, 1944. Pp. 128. Illustrated. \$1.75.

This book, the eighth title in the "America at Work" series, brings to the reader an interesting, reliable account of the amazing growth of the American chemical industry. It begins with a brief historical sketch of the development of chemistry from its early beginnings in ancient Egypt to the present, and then points to some of the developments that are possible in the future. Many elementary technical terms, e.g., "elements," "plastics," "nylon" and others, become meaningful terms even to the reader of limited technical background under the skillful pen of the author. This story will be read with great interest by many budding scientists in their early teens.

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### **KIME KOLOR PICTURES**

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tents of this short account, and has enhanced the verbal content with some excellent pictures. The index adds to the usefulness of this little volume.

*You and Your Money.* By Mabel B. Trilling and Florence Williams Nicholas. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1944. Pp. xii, 371. \$1.80.

This is not a book which tells how to get rich quickly through uncanny investments as the title might indicate, but after reading it, one should certainly be a more intelligent consumer of everyday commodities.

The book is intended as a text or reference in beginning the study of consumer education. It suggests units of study that could be used by practically any department in a junior high school. Teachers of home economics, industrial arts, social studies, general science and mathematics could find material fitted to their work. The authors have selected a number of typical consumer goods ranging from a nickel candy bar and soft drink to the living room rug and dining room furniture. In each case a very thorough study is made of the commodity under discussion, such as values in certain foods, types of construction, safeness of materials used and buying with a purpose.

Each chapter is organized so as to accomplish much more than merely directing the students' attention to the physical characteristics of the article in question. The objectives the authors have in mind are:

- (1) To develop a critical attitude with regard to qualities and values in consumer goods in order to discourage susceptibility to high pressure salesmanship, social pressure and advertising.
- (2) The acquisition of definite concepts of good quality in consumer goods.
- (3) The acquisition of knowledge about the production, distribution, manufacture and retailing of goods.

- (4) How and when to obtain consumer information and help.

The authors are to be commended for the quizzes at the beginning of each chapter, suggestions for discussion at the end of each chapter, their excellent use of advertisements and illustrations. The last chapter entitled, "Buying According to a Plan" is an unusually helpful piece of work in planning a unit on budgets.

As mentioned before, the book could be used by teachers in various departments in developing a series of units. I am fearful that the text might lead many to be overly cautious in buying. Some of the intricate ways suggested by the authors of examining certain commodities before making purchases would lead to misunderstanding between retail buyers and sellers and in a great many situations are not practical. One might easily become prejudiced and develop a mistrust from anyone retailing consumer material from certain suggestions made by this text. An intelligent teacher should be on his guard and add another objective, the development of good will between buyer and seller.

JOSEPH B. SHORE

The George School

George School, Pennsylvania

*Latin America: Its History and Culture.* By J. Fred Rippy and Lynn I. Perrigo. New York: Ginn and Company, 1944. Pp. xii, 426. Illustrated. \$1.76.

Of the many recent texts on Latin America examined by this reviewer in the last two or three years this one seems to be one of the better ones designed for use at the secondary level. The authors are distinguished scholars. The material incorporated in this book are authoritative, informative, and interestingly presented. The book is well-illustrated and contains 20 maps, all of them clear and useful. Each chapter is followed by stimulating questions and some excellent suggestions of activities to supplement the reading and discussion of the text. The authors have included an extensive bibliography, a useful, self-pronouncing glossary of names and terms, and a very thorough index.

The text contains much of the historical backgrounds of the Latin American countries, and gives a good picture of modern political, economic and social problems and developments. Teachers will find this little book an excellent one for most of the work being done on Latin America at the secondary level.

### **PERTINENT PAMPHLETS**

*Today's Children for Tomorrow's World.* By Aline B. Auerback. New York: Child Study Of America, Inc., 1944. Pp. 24. 30 cents.

A guide to the study of the child from infancy to six. This is an excellent manual and provides many suggestions to group leaders.

*A Peace That Pays.* By Thomas P. Brockway. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1944. Pp. 96. 25 cents.

No. 48 of the *Headline Series*, and like the others, the materials are timely, the illustrations helpful.

*Skyways of Tomorrow.* By Burnet Hershey. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1944. Pp. 96. 25 cents.

No. 47 of the *Headline Series* and deals with one of the more important problems of the postwar period.

*Why We Study History.* By The Historical Association. London, England: P. S. King and Staples, Limited, 1944. Pp. 22.

A challenging question to which eight outstanding English educators give their reasons for the study of history.

*The Place of Reading in the Elementary School Program.* By May Lazar. New York: Board of Education of the City of New York, 1944. Pp. 43.

No. 7 of the Education Research Bulletins of the Bureau of Reference, Research and Statistics.

*The Public Looks at Education.* By the National Opinion Research Center. Denver, Colorado: University of Denver, 1944. Pp. 40. 25 cents.

Report No. 21 of the National Opinion Research Center. Teachers should familiarize themselves with this report and the many other excellent studies this group has made.

*Building Sex into Your Life.* By Paul Popenoe. Los Angeles: The American Institute of Family Relations, 1944. Pp. 23. 25 cents.

One of a series of publications by a well-known Institute in which the resources of modern science are brought to bear on the promotion of successful family life.

*Youth Learns to Assume Responsibility.* Lansing: Michigan Study of the Secondary School Curriculum, Board of Education, 1944. Pp. 107. 25 cents.

Number 3 of "Leads to Better Secondary Schools in Michigan." A handbook on experiencing the ways of democracy in school.



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#### CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*Thomas Cresap.* By Kenneth P. Bailey. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1944. Pp. vii, 322. \$4.00.

A biography of the first permanent settler of Western Maryland.

*American Government and Politics.* By Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. viii, 872. \$4.00.

The ninth edition of a widely used textbook. It has been revised and brought up-to-date.

*American Policy Toward Palestine.* By Carl J. Friedrich. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. Pp. vi, 106. \$1.00.

A professor at Harvard writes an authoritative, provocative account of one of the foremost problems in international relations with which this country is faced.

*Land of the Free.* By Homer Carey Hockett and Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. xxviii, 765. \$4.00.

This volume is based upon, but does not supersede, the *Political and Social Growth of the Ameri-*



*can People*, a two-volume, widely used text by two well-known authorities.

*Lowering the Voting Age.* By Julia E. Johnsen. New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1944. Pp. 237. \$1.25.

Volume XVII, No. 5, of the "Reference Shelf" edition which have proven so useful and informative to teachers and other readers. It contains an excellent bibliography by which the reader could pursue further the arguments set forth in this compilation if the need arose.

*Industry-Government Cooperation.* By Carl Henry Monsees. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. Pp. 78. \$1.00.

A study of the participation of advisory committees in public administration.

*Probing Our Prejudices.* By Hortense Powdermaker and Helen Frances Storen. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. Pp. viii, 73. 65 cents.

A unit for high school students. The content is interesting, easily understood by immature minds, and accurate. The teaching aids are useful.

*Citizenship in Our Democracy.* By J. Cecil Parker, C. Perry Patterson and Samuel B. McAlister. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1944. Pp. x, 363. Illustrated.

A revised edition of a junior high school textbook in civics. It abounds with interesting illustrations, helpful teaching aids, stimulating questions for discussion by the class.

*Women and Men.* By Amram Scheinfeld. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944. Pp. xx, 453. Illustrated. \$3.50.

A scientific study, written for the layman, showing how biological factors and natural forces combine with training and environment to produce the behavior patterns of men and women as we know them.

*Pitchfork Ben Tillman.* By Francis Butler Simkins. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. Pp. xiii, 577. \$4.50.

One of the Southern Biographical Series, and gives an authentic, careful study of the life of one of South Carolina's most famous men.

*Normal Lives for the Disabled.* By Edna Yost and Lillian M. Gilbreth. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. x, 298. \$2.50.

This book gives an excellent, comprehensive pic-

ture of what has been and is now being done to help disabled people rehabilitate themselves.

*Vocational Training Directory for the Philadelphia Area.* Edited by Milton Brown. Philadelphia: B'nai B'rith Group Vocational Guidance Service, 1944. Pp. 110. \$1.85.

An excellent handbook for teachers and counselors giving complete information about opportunities for vocational training in Philadelphia.

*I Knew the Voice of Experience.* By Carroll Atkinson. Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1944. Pp. 97. \$1.00.

A biographical study of Marion Sayle Taylor, known by millions of radio listeners as the "Voice of Experience."

*Our Air-Age World.* By Leonard O. Packard, Bruce Overton, and Ben D. Wood. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. ix, 838. Illustrated. \$2.80.

A textbook to be used in secondary schools to help pupils understand the new air-age into which we are moving, and to accept the responsibilities attendant thereto. The maps and other illustrations are excellent. The index comprehensive.

*Living Together in Town and Country.* By Prudence Cutright, W. W. Charters and Mae Knight Clark. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. viii, 241. \$1.20.

A second grade social-studies reader, one of the very excellent *Elementary Social Studies* series that the Macmillan Company is sponsoring. It stresses cooperation in living together, develops respect for the American way of life. It is based on a core vocabulary. There are twenty-one pages of activities for the pupils, and contains many good illustrations.

*The Textile Arts.* By William H. Johnson and Louis V. Newkirk. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. vii, 144. \$1.20.

A basal textbook for use in the industrial arts department of the Junior and Senior high schools. It gives simple but detailed explanations for making things. There are nine large units each of which closes with questions, topics for discussion and a bibliography.

*The Chemical Industry.* By Josephine Perry. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1944. Pp. 128. Illustrated. \$1.75.

The story of the growth of the chemical industry told with simplicity and clarity.

# The Social Studies

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## The Reader's Digest

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